Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Bush Cited on Gorbachev Proposal, Possible Summit

PM0710152191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX, REUTER roundup]

[Text] "This is very good news for the whole world, U.S. President G. Bush said, answering a request from journalists to comment on the Soviet Union's response to his nuclear arms initiative expounded in a statement by M. Gorbachev.

"We must study these initiatives," the president stressed. "We put forward a number of good proposals and they have agreed with many of them and put forward a number of their own. We must analyze them."

G. Bush went on to point out that the United States "is fully prepared to cooperate with the Soviet Union in resolving the problems of the safe storage of nuclear weapons." "These are extremely important problems," the president stressed. "We have good technology. It is possible that they will be able to help us in some way here."

Answering a question on the possibility of preparations beginning for a new Soviet-U.S. summit, G. Bush said: "It seems to me that we have both agreed that both sides are faced with a great deal of work. However, if the need for a meeting arises at any stage, of course we will agree to one."

UN Head Praises Gorbachev Response to Bush Plan

LD0710192691 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar praised President Mikhail Gorbachev's specific and positive response to President George Bush's decision to take unilateral measures to cut nuclear stockpiles and armed forces, the secretary general's spokesman Francois Giuliani said today.

Perez de Cuellar hopes that the two major initiatives will create new conditions for achieving further considerable cuts in the two countries' nuclear stockpiles and greater stability, as well as lead to additional steps towards a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon testing.

Moreover, the U.N. secretary general has appealed to other nuclear powers to consider President Gorbachev's initiative and join the bilateral efforts, Giuliani pointed out.

General Lobov Comments on Bush Initiative

AU0710135891 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Oct 91 p 20

[Interview with General Vladimir Lobov, Soviet chief of staff, by unidentified DER SPIEGEL reporter; place and date not given: "A Significant Step"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Was Moscow surprised by the U.S. President's disarmament proposals?

[Lobov] I do not quite see it that way. As you know, President Gorbachev started his significant initiative to abolish all nuclear weapons by 2000, as early as in 1986. Real disarmament has always been our goal. The best example of this is the Soviet-U.S. START agreement, which was signed but has not yet been ratified.

[DER SPIEGEL] So, you do not think that what has come from the West is revolutionary or new, do you?

[Lobov] What do you mean by revolutionary? We think the United States has taken a significant step. However, considering the United States' entire nuclear capabilities, a mere 5 percent of its strategic offensive weapons are involved. What is important is that this initiative came from the United States. That is a political step of extraordinary importance because it shows that the United States has ceased to consider us its enemy. We will submit specific counterproposals, and as a result, some new things could be started.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is the United States' most important motive: concerns about the threatening disintegration of the Soviet Union, or fear about a third zero option in Europe?

[Lobov] Neither the one nor the other. I am seeing an effort here to eliminate the most terrible weapons—strategic and tactical nuclear weapons—step by step, and thereby creating more confidence and security.

[DER SPIEGEL] Soviet military officials expressed doubts last week. They say that taking away the multiple warhead missiles, for instance, could upset the balance in the START treaty, which was achieved in very difficult negotiations.

[Lobov] I do not know with whom you discussed this. I think it is tactless to suspect me as the general chief of staff in connection with such views.

[DER SPIEGEL] After all, even Mikhail Gorbachev said that there are some pending problems. Do you know what problems they are?

[Lobov] Why don't you ask Mikhail Sergeyevich personally?

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you follow the U.S. example and have your strategic bombers step down from a state of alert as well?

[Lobov] Of course, we are ready to do so.

[DER SPIEGEL] When?

[Lobov] We have already begun.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, you do not like the fact that President Bush failed to mention a worldwide ban on nuclear tests.

[Lobov] Regrettably, you are right. We have always advocated banning such tests. Because we have proposed a nuclear-free world, we have abstained from carrying out such tests for some time now.

[DER SPIEGEL] Several Soviet republics that are striving for independence want to have a say on nuclear weapons in the future. Will Russia, Kazakhstan, or the Ukraine be permitted to take part in formulating an answer to President Bush?

[Lobov] I do not rule it out. After all, we are also increasingly coming to terms with them on other issues.

[DER SPIEGEL] In what way do such disarmament measures affect the restructuring of your Armed Forces?

[Lobov] If both sides now destroy some of their nuclear weapons, the respective units will be disbanded as well. The rest will be regrouped. In any case, we are already taking these changes into account in our plans.

[DER SPIEGEL] When can we expect Moscow's official response to the Bush initiative?

[Lobov] Very soon.

Kondrashov Views Arms Race, Bush Proposal

PM0710140791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Union Edition p 6

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Arms Race and Other Troubles"]

[Text] Operational-tactical nuclear missiles have a range of up to 500 km, and the yield of their charges is comparable to the Hiroshima bomb. Nuclear artillery also belongs to the junior class of nuclear weapons called theater weapons. It sends a shell with a yield of approximately 5,000 tonnes of explosives (plus radiation) a distance of 20-30 km. In addition to these two types, U.S. President George Bush intends to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons on surface ships and strike submarines, as well as those used by land-based naval aircraft.

Having unilaterally proclaimed his initiative, Bush insistently invited us to follow his example. He made it clear that with a bilateral approach, it would be far easier to implement the unilateral U.S. action. We cannot fail to respond to this invitation. We promise to respond with our own initiative in the next few days, after we have secured the necessary amplifications concerning the U.S. initiative.

So, a nuclear-free world will come about within a radius of up to 500 km from each operational-tactical missile base as soon as it ceases to exist. The complete destruction of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which carried their lethal load a distance of 500-5,500 km, was completed in May. If all the missiles that have been eliminated and marked for elimination were in one place, we could probably say that the nuclear-free world will soon extend over a radius of 5,500 km, while the dangerous nuclear world will remain outside the nuclear-free world, where the possessions of intercontinental missiles and strategic bombers lie.

I am one of those who do not believe in the coming of a completely nuclear-free world in the foreseeable future. But the former joint accords between the two superpowers and the present U.S. initiative, on condition that we join in with it, physically reduce to a minimum the aspect of chance in the emergence of nuclear conflicts. Just one option remains, which is patently unrealistic under the new conditions: the option of universal nuclear war.

The Bush initiative is an attempt to cut out all aspects of chance and rule out all nuclear risk options before it is too late. The former nuclear threat—from confrontation between two powers, two military blocs, and two political worlds—has vanished. The United States can fearlessly remove all its nuclear means from the periphery of the Soviet borders—above all from Europe, from Germany. At the same time, however, it is thinking primarily of another, new nuclear risk connected with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the lack of 100-percent guarantees of control over Soviet nuclear weapons. They are sited, if you take strategic systems, in four republics that have become sovereign states and, if you take tactical systems, in almost all the military districts of the once rigidly centralized power.

Previously, a frightening threat proceeded from a force not accountable to any democratic institutions, concentrated in the Politburo and at the mysterious top of the military-industrial complex. Now, alas, it proceeds from the growing impotence of the former Moscow center and from the increasing impossibility of keeping control in the same hands. This is a case where it is easier to drive the nuclear jinni into the bottle with one practiced hand than with several hands that do not know how to deal with him.

Of course, Bush is reckoning on a "peace dividend" from the elimination of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons. But he is thinking still more about the urgent removal of the Soviet tactical nuclear systems and of all the risks associated with them. And about a new sharp reduction in the Soviet strategic nuclear arms. Although the corresponding treaty was signed just two months ago and has not yet been ratified, the time-out, or "respite," in the 10-year talks marathon has come to an end. Bush is in a hurry, having proposed his broad initiatives, and he is inviting us to hurry, awaiting "equally bold steps from the Soviet side."

A disarmament race, you might say—and it is a race against time. In proposing an accelerated pace, Washington is trying to anticipate the possible negative consequences of the process of the Soviet Union's disintegration and to resolve tasks that might prove insoluble tomorrow.

We have our own emergency system of priorities. We have our hands full with the economy and politics on the eve of winter. The Americans, however, are pushing us, as it were, in a different and not necessarily parallel direction and are promoting their own system of priorities in our relations, which once again puts nuclear disarmament at the head of the agenda. It is perfectly possible that they will link its acceptance to their own assistance and that of the whole West in easing our critical position.

It cannot be said that Washington does not believe the statements of Mikhail Gorbachev or Boris Yeltsin about the maintenance of effective control over Soviet nuclear arms. People there know that not only strategic but also tactical combat supplies even in general-purpose divisions are guarded by special subunits and are kept in special dumps. There has not yet been a single case where "even" a quarter-liter bottle of Hiroshima in the form of any nuclear shell has fallen into the hands of one criminal or another.

However, Nursultan Nazarbayev speaks of his own share in control over the military atom. Kiev is speaking now of a nuclear-free status, now of the right to vote on the nuclear weapons sited in the Ukraine. The longer the list of authoritative deponents and the options set forth by them, the more strongly the worm of doubt gnaws at the strategists in Washington. The greater is their desire to "drop" the maximum number of nuclear warheads as quickly as possible, while the remains of the Moscow center maintain, together with Russia, the unity of the Armed Forces and are still in practical charge of nuclear arsenals of monstrous force. God helps those who help themselves, if they protect themselves as well as possible against all kinds of consequences of such a unique historic cataclysm as the collapse of a nuclear superpower.

Incidentally, it is impossible to extract precise data on the numbers of tactical nuclear weapons from our military, not because they continue to keep things secret but because here too there is confusion.

There is no doubt that we will meet the Americans half way, particularly as the Soviet side previously raised the question of eliminating tactical systems more persistently than the U.S. side. In addition, in our present state of disunity and changing authorities the political influence of Washington's White House on the new republic centers of power quite frequently proves more acceptable and more persuasive than the influence of the Kremlin. The Americans also sense this, take it into account, and use it to restrain our centrifugal trends as far as possible. Moreover, the aforementioned carrot of economic assistance is very attractive in their hands.

We will meet the Americans—and ourselves—half way, but certain amplifications are needed, about which informed circles are now speaking. First, it is a question of some dates. The economic crisis, the excessive strain over finances, and the overall situation of political instability, alas, prevent the taking of "bold steps." Before you profit from disarmament, you have to spend a fair amount on it. This paradox on the way to the "peace dividend" is less painful in the United States.

Second, to what extent must the elimination of theater weapons be carried out, and how much of their stockpiles? The Bush initiative proposes both options but does not specify more precise numbers.

Probably most questions—and objections—are elicited by Bush's proposal for new reductions in strategic nuclear arms; namely for the destruction of ICBM's [intercontinental ballistic missiles] with multiple reentry vehicles in the two powers' arsenals. It clearly promises the United States a unilateral advantage, since the majority of the U.S. multiple-charge ICBM's are on submarines and are not covered by this proposal. In this option it is mainly Soviet ground-launched missiles—the chief constituent part of our strategic arsenal—that are to be reduced.

Disputed issues will be a topic of the discussion which is on the point of beginning and which will make much quicker progress than the well-known Geneva talks. There is no longer any rivalry between the two powers on the way to an agreement.

Political Observer Views Bush Initiative

92UF0027A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 3

[By political observer Eduard Volodin under the rubric: "An Observer's Opinion": "Causes and Effects"]

[Text] U.S. President G. Bush has announced a possible large-scale reduction in nuclear arms—without negotiation, without coordination, joint planning, or consensus with the former USSR. He announced it, and let everyone else think and do whatever they wish.

Of course, things are never that simple in politics, and official decisions like G. Bush's are made according to the real situation and realistic military-strategic prognoses. What is the real explanation for this announcement?

It seems to me that we must look for the main causes in the change in the balance of forces in the world arena, which was predetermined by the transformation of a great power (the USSR) into a patchwork quilt of who knows what states. On a world scale, our national tragedy is a planetary catastrophe, the consequences of which are already being felt by those countries that until quite

recently were friends and allies of the USSR and are now quickly changing their foreign political orientation through internal civil strife, slaughter, and military coups. We do not know precisely what is really happening in Ethiopia, we do not know about the real events in Angola, and we can only guess what new stage is coming in the national tragedy of Afghanistan. Propaganda-type hysterics regarding the "hand of Moscow" and "CPSU proteges" in the developing countries were clearly intended to make fools of all who want to know the real situation in the Third World, where the USSR already occupied one of the leading positions according to all indicators.

The words about the position of the former USSR among the countries of the former Third World are, in my opinion, one of the explanations for G. Bush's announcement. It is too burdensome to maintain powerful weapons against a poorly developed country and one filled with interethnic conflicts. Internal conflicts can destroy any sovereignty much more effectively than any military threat from outside can, and political stakes are now being placed on this. With an announcement of arms reduction you can gain political capital as well as the aura of a peacemaker and a democrat.

The collapse of the USSR also predetermined the purely military aspects of the announcement from the U.S. President concerning the reduction of weapons of mass destruction. There are limits to the application of tactical nuclear weapons from a long distance. As long as there was a USSR, the old scheme for dispersion of U.S. tactical weapons took into account its boundaries and the boundaries of its now former allies. Now, with the application of tactical weapons located in West Europe, all they can do is strike a blow to the independent Baltics or freedom-loving Moldova. The Asian system of the same weapons did not extend beyond Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, where processes of democratization, liberalization, and sovereignization are also developing with all their might. Under these conditions tactical nuclear weapons have lost their significance, and it seems to me that this is why G. Bush started talking about the peace-loving foreign policy of the citadel of democracy and the empire of prosperity and abundance—all the more so as the diversion of tactical nuclear weapons to the territory of the sovereign newcomers is both costly and what if they decided to use them.

Under these conditions, strategic nuclear arms aimed at Russia—its industrial centers, the capital, the strategic arms system—are of fundamental significance. This significance remains and increases and, along with the intensive development of the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] system, is a well-structured complex for destroying the geopolitical force that is potentially capable of restoring, under new conditions and on a new political and economic basis, the unified power which has traditional foreign ties, allies, and its own geopolitical interests. G. Bush did not mention the reduction of these kinds of arms, which indirectly shows that the U.S. strategy regards Russia as its potential strategic opponent, even under the rule of the "democrats." This should be remembered by everyone who is in a hurry to be even more democratic than G. Bush in putting an end to the residual military might of the former great power, thinking about reducing and destroying even more weapons in response to the President's promises. Incidentally, one cannot rule out a version whereby the dismemberment of Russia itself will make it dangerous for it to have nuclear weapons and useless for the United States to have its own strategic weapons. But this will be clear (if everything continues to go the way it is now) in a year.

As for the peace-loving incantations by the head of the United States of America, obviously they must be seen in light of their real actions. Here again one must recall Iraq, against which, under the banner of the United Nations, a policy of trampling on the norms of humanism and democracy is being followed. It boggles the mind: Kuwait is free but the blockade continues, and the encroachment on the sovereignty of a country that is a UN member continues. By now it is clear even to a school child that during the past 10 months the United Nations has been merely a screen enabling the United States to dictate its will to an independent state and suffocate a freedom-loving people merely so that there will be only one nuclear power in the Near East: Israel.

This question also arises: Who and what is the former USSR in the world arena now? Actually there is no longer a Soviet Union, and the semblance of a "central power" does not influence the processes taking place inside the country—economic, political, interethnic, and "interstate." This "central" government which just six years ago spoke as an equal with the United States now despondently and obediently follows the instructions, recommendations, and wishes of the master of the world which remains alone on the Olympus of world politics.

It would be wrong, however, to think we have seen the last of Russia as a world power. The national and patriotic leaders of Russia will be able to restore its state power and revive self-respect and national pride. Emerging from the crisis in and of itself will return to Russia the status of a great power—not a nominal one but a real one. Then it will once again participate as an equal with all others in discussions, deliberations, and negotiations about peace and disarmament. On behalf of its own national interests and the interests of its historical friends and allies.

Commentator Rebuts Detractors of Bush Plan

PM0710153991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts commentary: "Topic of the Week. Rendezvous With Disarmament"]

[Text] U.S. President G. Bush's sensational nuclear disarmament proposals last Friday [27 September] were

undoubtedly this week's main international event. The U.S. initiative generated a real avalanche of statements, rejoinders, and commentaries, the overwhelming majority of which were positive. Britain and France stated their intention of getting rid of tactical nuclear weapons. Dozens of countries voiced their approval. Even Pyongyang, where people are traditionally in no hurry to agree with U.S. proposals, saw the U.S. initiatives as a chance to strengthen security on the Korean peninsula.

Needless to say, the main question, however, is how the Soviet Union will respond, as it is the country to which the U.S. initiatives are primarily geared. I cannot agree with those reproaching M.S. Gorbachev for not detailing a package of countermeasures immediately. The problems at issue are too deep-seated. In the current situation, it is not only a question of our country's political readiness to follow the U.S. example. It is also a question of whether we will keep up with the pace of disarmament proposed by Bush in conditions of a self-disintegrating economy.

There are also questions about preserving the strategic balance. The United States is suggesting talks on eliminating MIRVed intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's], for instance. But it is only referring to ground-launched ICBM's, leaving naval missiles aside. Nor has it raised what the USSR considers to be the key question of suspending nuclear tests. And, if we are talking about U.S. tactical nuclear weapons, some of these will remain untouched in Europe because they are deployed with the Air Force. There are also other difficult questions which, at the very least, need to be clarified by specialists. People in Washington have reacted with understanding to our suggestions that in-depth consultations be held. There are no doubts that the Soviet Union will formulate and make its response.

At the same time some of Bush's approaches and proposals over the last few days cannot help but cause amazement. They were staggeringly reminiscent of the situation described 150 years ago in the article "Russian Man at a Rendezvous." The crux of this is that some Romeos are very lively when given a chance to walk with a lady on their arm and to philosophize about the eternal. But the subject of their advances only has to take them seriously and, God forbid, reciprocate their admirer to become immediately flustered and, within minutes, shower recriminations upon the unfortunate woman. How could she by her recognition put him in such an awkward position? A situation in which it is necessary to act and take responsibility for these actions?

How much has been written and how much has been said about our passionate longing for the United States to support us in our desire for nuclear disarmament! How much have the leaders of the sovereign republics said about their desire to see them as nuclear-free states, and now we have U.S. initiatives. That is not enough. Washington appeals directly to the republics. What is their response? Only B.N. Yeltsin has given a clear-cut positive reaction. The others have kept quiet or issued statements that do their leaders' diplomatic skills credit, but fail to clarify the situation.

Thus, speaking at the United Nations, L. Kravchuk, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman, spoke approvingly of the Bush initiative. The Ukraine's position, if we are to believe TASS, is this: "We proceed on the premise that the presence of nuclear weapons within the Ukraine is a transitory phenomenon. Their elimination and the elimination of basing components is a matter of time." So, does the Ukrainian leadership agree to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons on its territory or not? As we can see, there was no clear-cut response. But, just as no one has ever managed to be slightly pregnant, so a republic cannot be slightly nuclear-free.

Now we come to a very difficult question. However we may curse nuclear weapons, it has already turned out that ownership of these weapons was the USSR's main attribute as a great power. Let me offer the hypothesis that some people today want to enhance their status in relations with the outside world through their ownership of these weapons—and, perhaps, in relations with other republics.

I think that this is a dangerous delusion. Our country has a chance to use the period of disarmament (that is, the period when the West is willing to cooperate with us on the basis not of economic interests but for considerations of its own security) to revive all the republics. But this is only possible if there is a clear-cut concerted decision regarding the future of nuclear weapons. If anyone intends to compete over nuclear arsenals, they risk their reputation in the eyes of the whole world and—and this is the main thing—they risk the security of their own people.

It cannot be denied that the U.S. proposals provide another incentive for finding a way out of an extremely complex situation together. After all, everyone now is concerned that the USSR's tactical weapons may, to put it mildly, fall into the wrong hands in unstable conditions. For that reason Washington is directly prompting us to eliminate these weapons. It is acting in the interests of its own security. But I definitely do not agree with those people who seek a dirty tricks campaign here. After all, a concerted decision to eliminate tactical nuclear arsenals is primarily in our own interests. If we are unable to take this opportunity, will we resemble not Ivanushka the simpleton, but the peasant from the well-known proverb who bolts the stable door after the horse has bolted? Will we be able to bolt the stable door if the horse bolts?

I am reluctant to talk seriously about the opinions that if the USSR responds positively to the United States, it will be acting at "Washington's bidding." A sense of grievance that someone has left us behind in making peace initiatives looks painfully childish. Incidentally, we have frequently mooted the idea of a global tactical zero and

cuts in sea-based nuclear weapons. In effect, the United States has now picked up the impetus.

The Soviet Union and the sovereign republics are currently going through a difficult period. If disarmament brings peace dividends, it will not be today or tomorrow. But there is no other way. I want to believe that all political forces in our country will act in a dignified manner at the next rendezvous with disarmament, a rendezvous to which we did not hand out the invitations.

Costs of Nuclear Disarmament Discussed

PM0710151191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 4

[By correspondent V. Linnik: "The Disarmament Race Costs a Lot of Money. But Why Do Our Politicians Remain Silent About This?"]

[Text] New York—The radical proposal to reduce the U.S. nuclear arsenal that President Bush made in his radio address to the U.S. people last Friday [27 September] is, of course, the number one news item in the U.S. mass media.

The form by which Bush chose to make his proposal public also caused a sensation. Gorbachev and Yeltsin learned of the U.S. President's plans from a brief telephone conversation with him Friday morning. The day before this conversation with the White House, however, Gorbachev held a meeting in Moscow with Dzh. Collins [initial as transliterated], U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, who briefed him on the main details of Bush's impending initiative. There were no preliminary contacts at embassy or expert level. The minimal U.S. press leaks on this do not alter the crux of the matter. Bush's initiative clearly shows that when it suits a state to do something, it can quite easily do it unilaterally without waiting for—indeed, bypassing—the lengthy, wearisome procedure of bilateral or multilateral talks.

It is clear that the U.S. President's ideas have been floated for a while in the U.S. corridors of power, but this does not reduce the drama of the event. What considerations guided the White House in its phenomenal decision? They must be extremely weighty at the very least. The first consideration concerns the situation in our country since the collapse of the August putsch. For the umpteenth time in the last few weeks, everything in our country has happened in line with the well known expression: Every cloud has a silver lining. The breakup of the USSR and the fears over the fate of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, above all the tactical arsenal—which could fall into the hands of irresponsible politicians or terrorists—compelled the administration to take dramatic steps. The U.S. press puts it bluntly: It was the quality of the current political situation in the Soviet Union, fraught with unpredictable consequences, that prompted the U.S. President to take rapid action. Naturally, Bush made his cuts conditional upon responsive actions from the USSR. The sooner the Soviet leadership eliminates the same quantities of the tactical weapons scattered over the territory of virtually all the former Soviet republics, the better. For all its long-standing talk of support for national self-determination, the administration is clearly not delighted over the prospect of getting 15 nuclear states instead of one. Today one of the top-priority tasks in U.S. foreign policy is to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons as fast as possible before the situation in the USSR gets out of control once and for all.

Domestic political and economic considerations were the second extremely important factor influencing Bush's decision. Bush is making his initiative in the hope of avoiding more radical cuts in the U.S. arsenal—that was how THE NEW YORK TIMES summed up this aspect of the President's logic. The sentiment has long been growing in the United States in favor of a 50-percent cut in the military budget and nuclear arsenals in view of the final laying to rest of the "cold war" and the Soviet threat. At any rate, that is the proportion of the budget and arsenals that people think the decades-long confrontation with the United States' former enemy number one accounts for. In his speech the President confirmed that the U.S. military budget will be reduced by one-fourth. In proposing to reduce radically the U.S. nuclear arsenal, he is thus anticipating criticism and pressure from opponents in favor of more substantial cuts. It is expected that his program for eliminating weapons will make it possible to save nearly $5 billion in each of the coming five years. That cannot, of course, be compared with the demand voiced by 40 percent of Americans that the Pentagon budget of almost $300 billion be halved.

Finally, one cannot help but draw attention to the crux of the U.S. proposals. Mobile strategic missile programs are being canceled, and this is being done in the hope that it will prove possible to keep untouched the B-2 bomber program and the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] program, which are being increasingly criticized by legislators. The U.S. President is determined to carry through SDI in its entirety—despite the extremely illusory military necessity of such a program and the fact that its implementation may jeopardize the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The U.S. initiatives, the press here notes, are drawn up in such a way that the United States will have to destroy only 500 warheads on its MIRVed strategic missiles. We will have to destroy roughly 2,500, an extremely costly process. The Americans alone will have to spend $0.5 billion on destroying nuclear arsenals. Naturally, we will have to spend far more. I was told by a high-ranking USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman that the disarmament race also costs plenty of money.

Soviet Physicists May Assist Near-Nuclear States

PM0810103991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Single Edition p 4

[By correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Whose Finger Is on the Nuclear Button in the USSR? This Question Still Worries the West"]

[Excerpts] London, 3 Oct—[passage omitted] The publication of the International Institute for Strategic Studies yearbook "The Military Balance in 1991-1992" has aroused much interest. Unfortunately, the study detailing the military potential of all sorts of states was prepared before the August putsch in the USSR and before President Bush's recent initiatives. In many respects the document is out of date, but the alarm concerning the Soviet section of the yearbook over who now has his hand on nuclear weapons in the USSR is quite topical. F. Heisbourg, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, speaking on the occasion of the brochure's publication, devoted particular attention to this: [passage omitted]

"In a situation of increasing chaos and anarchy, the question of who now has his hand on these munitions—and how stable this hand is—is becoming particularly acute."

On the question of possible responses that the USSR may take in connection with the U.S. initiative, Heisbourg singled out in particular the social aspect. It must not be forgotten, he said, that wide-ranging cuts in nuclear potential will result in the dismissal of a considerable number of specialists in this field. Whole laboratories may find themselves without work. We must prepare for these consequences in advance; otherwise, who can guarantee that top-notch Soviet nuclear physicists will not begin working on contract in countries that want to acquire a nuclear potential? The West could help the USSR in this situation and also in eliminating nuclear weapons stocks, for which purpose urgent talks must be held within the International Atomic Energy Agency framework. [passage omitted]

Delegation Attends Arms Conference in Italy

LD0710013791 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Castiglioncello, Livorno Province, October 6 TASS—Averting the threat of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the survival of humanity, and action to ensure a genuinely peaceful development of life around the world in the third millemium are the exceptionally important problems that are under discussion at an international arms control conference that opened at Pasquini Castle here today.

The conference, which was organised by the Italian Alliance of Scientists for Disarmament (USPID) together with the Florentine forum on the problems of war and peace, is being attended by prominent scholars and arms control experts from many countries, including Italy, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, Israel, Germany and other states.

This conference acquires particular topicality in the light of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's latest televised statement, Professor Cathryn Kelleher, director of Maryland University's Centre for Strategic Arms Studies, said in her speech at the conference. She referred to Gorbachev's proposals as "a step in the right direction".

"We feel profound satisfaction in view of the measures announced by your president. This is of particular importance, since substance is thereby being added to the subjects that we are discussing: the two nuclear superpowers have decided to patently show to the world that they genuinely want to get rid of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century," USPID National Secretary Giuseppe Nardulli told TASS.

"I must admit that to a certain extent Gorbachev caught us unawares—so wide is the spectrum of his proposals which encompass both tactical nuclear weapons, strategic offensive arms, and a one-year unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests," Nardulli said.

"It is significant that the Soviet Union removes all tactical nuclear weapons from surface ships and versatile submarines. This is known to have been one of the issues over which the Soviet Union and the United States previously disagreed", Nardulli pointed out.

Worldwide Issues

NATO Representative Encourages Military Contacts

LD0310170391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 3 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Oct (TASS)—"My visit is a continuation of the plan of the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc toward developing contacts with the Soviet military," stated Brian Kenny, NATO deputy supreme allied commander Europe. Kenny is taking part in an international conference on "Topical Problems of International Security," which has been organized by the Center for Research Into Problems of National Security and Strategic Stability and the Association of Independent Publications. The conference is being held in the small town of Nakhabino, near Moscow.

Speaking to journalists, the general stressed that "the development of contacts with the Soviet military is part of NATO's new strategy" which was formulated at the bloc's summit meeting in London in July 1990. Even before the attempted coup in the USSR, he pointed out, "we in NATO set out on a course toward establishing contacts with the Soviet military." The NATO military commander has already met with the leadership of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and representatives from other military structures. "I tried to explain to the Soviet military the peculiar characteristics of NATO's new strategy and to listen to their views on the military reform which has begun in the USSR," Brian Kenny noted. He also plans to hold talks with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the USSR KGB.

During the course of his visit, the general said, he has gotten the impression that the Soviet leadership, including the military leadership, "understands the need for radical reforms." "I hope," he stressed, "the Soviet military will take advantage of the opportunities which are opening up in connection with the change in NATO strategy as an incentive to implement the Soviet military reforms, particularly as regards cutbacks in the USSR Armed Forces." The question of nuclear forces in the USSR was also raised during the course of the visit. "We have been given assurances that, in spite of the processes aimed at decentralizing power in the country, everything will be done to maintain central control over nuclear weapons."

Appraising the recent initiative on nuclear arms reductions put forward by U.S. President George Bush, the general noted that "from a military standpoint, this initiative to a considerable degree consolidates NATO's position on carrying out a reform of its own strategy, especially regarding the question of relying on nuclear forces." This issue, he said, was touched upon at the meetings with the Soviet military and "on the whole their reaction was positive."

Brian Kenny reported on the existence of a program aimed at developing contacts between the militaries of NATO and the USSR. Among other things, after the next NATO summit in Rome this November a group of military representatives from the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces will visit NATO Headquarters.

Replying to a TASS correspondent's question about his appraisal of events in the USSR, the general expressed the hope that the process of reform in the USSR had become irreversible and that there would be no more incidents in the country like the attempted coup, which would have a negative effect on European security and security in the world as a whole.

G-7, EC Delegation To Visit, Discuss Aid

OW0510022091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1702 GMT 4 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin has announced the other day the coming visit to this country by a representative of the G7 countries and the European Community for consultations on the scale and character of aid to be given.

A high-ranking official of the USSR Foreign Ministry has informed DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that nothing definite is known yet of the date of such a delegation's arrival or problems to be discussed. Certain at any rate, in his opinion, are the most acute questions involved in the West's aid to Soviet economic reforms and overcoming the crisis in Soviet economy.

EBRD's Freeman on 'Utter Chaos' of Economy

PM0410081991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5

[By correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Current Topic": "Eurobank Prepared To Help Us, But..."]

[Text] London—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], which was set up in April this year to give financial and economic aid to the USSR and the East European countries and to bring foreign investments to those countries, has selected 15 projects from more than 1,000 applications received by its London headquarters.

After a careful expert examination it was decided that the bank would finance them either partially or fully. It intends to allocate 10 million ECU (European Currency Units) to each project, which is approximately 7 million pounds sterling.

Alas, none of the selected projects has anything to do with our country. The money will go to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. But not the USSR. This is not due to the bank's reluctance to help or to a lack of worthwhile projects.

The victory of democracy in August, although enthusiastically welcomed here, not only failed to clarify, but obscured even further the situation as regards the main question: Who to give money to in the USSR. Our delegations are ever more frequently popping in to the Eurobank headquarters in the City of London, each putting forward its own, at times mutually exclusive arguments. The republics are all tugging at the economic blanket. In these conditions our country is obectively becoming more and more of an economic danger area for investors.

I am very worried by the tendency for everyone to create his own laws, the American Ronald Freeman, the bank's vice president, said at a news conference for foreign journalists. Not only the republics, but oblasts and settlements are doing it.

A couple of weeks ago I thought that at least two projects were quite ready for financing by us, R. Freeman noted, but now they have been deferred. The people with whom we were intending to sort them out are not available. Potentially they are excellent projects, they relate to oil or gas extraction. Western geologists are generally returning from your country inspired. They say that they have seen nothing like it since the discovery of oil deposits in Alaska in the fifties. But as soon as our lawyers go in after them they are overwhelmed by utter depression. They are staggered by the number of people with whom they have to negotiate and by the utter chaos. Yet it is lawyers who write the rules of the game in business. No board chairman of a Western corporation would invest money in any enterprise without legal advice. His own board would get rid of him if he did. It is necessary to establish a semblance of order.

After the news conference I asked R. Freeman what he meant when he said that he was unable to reach the people with whom he was supposed to sort out our projects.

"These people either are not there or are simply afraid to sign a document. In the first place, because they do not know exactly what their powers are at the present moment. Second, because they fear that other leaders might reproach them in the future: Why did you conclude this agreement, they might say, and who asked you to? But someone has to take the responsibility!"

United States & Canada

Shaposhnikov, Lobov Meet With General McPeak

LD0410182191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1533 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By correspondents Roman Zadunayskiy and Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—As a TASS correspondent was told in the USSR Defense Ministry press center, USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov today received General Merrill McPeak, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, who is on an official visit to the USSR. During the conversation, which took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

On the same day a meeting took place between Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of genera! staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, and U.S. General McPeak.

"We are planning to transform the USSR Defense Ministry into a civilian department," Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated in an interview with the TASS correspondent after his meeting with the U.S. guest. He informed General McPeak, too, of this intention in the course of their conversation.

The head of the Soviet military department informed the visitor of some details regarding forthcoming work. Thus, within the Defense Ministry it is planned to set up committees to tackle specific tasks. According to Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, one such committee will be engaged on purely military matters. "It will be in charge of the activities of the Armed Forces and will be freed of other functions not really peculiar to the military structure," the marshal stressed.

Assessing the results of his meeting with the U.S. military chief, Army General Vladimir Lobov noted: "We found the essential points of contact with our interlocutor on all the matters touched upon." According to him, problems regarding the withdrawal of both Soviet and U.S. forces from Europe were discussed. It was for this reason that General McPeak wanted to acquaint himself with the problems that have arisen on the Soviet side on this issue, Vladimir Lobov said.

U.S. Readiness To Defend Citizens in Haiti Noted

PM0710143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Single Edition p 4

[Pavel Bogomolov "Viewpoint": "They Are Not Abandoning Their People..."]

[Text] Over the last few years we have somehow become accustomed to double prices—we have learned that from inflation. We have become accustomed to ordering a double-strength coffee—the regular coffee is undrinkable. And we have by and large become accustomed to dual approaches, even to history and politics.

The "hirelings of the Kaiser's General Staff" are badmouthed, for instance, but the Vlasovites who served Hitler's General Staff have now begun to be glorified. The original name of the city on the Neva is being restored, but someone only has to recall that Peter the Great spent virtually his entire life working to secure broad access to the Baltic for Russia and people immediately rush to rank the powerful "conservative" as... one of Nevzorov's confederates.

Double standards within the country also mean double standards in evaluating the world outside. Take, for instance, the United States, whose prosperity we sincerely admire and rightly so. But why, one wonders, should we not express the same admiration of Washington's invariable firmness in defending Americans wherever they may be? Or are we afraid that sad parallels will be drawn with our own reality, which literally oozes blood from our television screens?

...As recently as Wednesday [2 October] the United States sent an extra 500 Marines and transport helicopters to its Guantanamo naval base on Cuba. What is more, roughly 20 warships under the Stars and Stripes have been urgently mobilized in Caribbean waters.

Now let us be supremely self-critical and imagine what a hullabaloo PRAVDA and many of our other newspapers would have raised about this a few years ago. We simply would not have gone into the details of the matter. All we would have done was accuse the White House of causing another round of regional tension.

Times are different now. Let us hope that, according to Washington's statement, the official purpose of this entire operation is indeed to carry out, if necessary, the evacuation of approximately 7,000 Americans. It is a question of the U.S. citizens on Haiti, where there has been a military coup.

Admittedly, the author of this article still opposes "gunboat diplomacy." If the U.S. operation results in any casualties or breaches of international law, it will certainly be discredited. Nonetheless, when a U.S. Defense Department spokesman speaks resolutely of a readiness to help compatriots threatened with bloody disturbances, violence, and violation of their legitimate rights, that involuntarily evokes respect, at least as far as I personally am concerned. Whoever holds power in a

particular part of the globe, democrats or extreme right-wing or left-wing forces, the White House worries just as much or even more about the fate of its citizens as about establishing ties with the new regime.

No, I am by no means thinking about automatically transferring U.S. experience to our own unfortunate country without making the proper adjustments. Since millions of our people, who voted quite recently in favor of the unity of the Union and who now find themselves on different sides of more and more borders, cannot be brought out by helicopter or ship, other remedies are needed.

Still, be that as it may, the United States knows how to stand up for Americans. That's a fact.

Northeast Asia

Japan Grants Aid for Food, Medicines

LD0810083391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The Mira news agency has just flashed the following information: Today the Japanese Government decided to allocate $2.5 billion for aid to the Soviet Union. It is proposed specifically that $500 million of this sum be spent on supplying foodstuffs and medicines to our country and $200,000 be put toward the implementation of various projects.

The agency reports this with reference to a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman.

There is a great deal that could be said about whether it is good or bad to get aid from the West or the East, but I still think it is better than nothing, at least in the conditions we are living in at present.

Closer Market Regulation Ordered in Mongolia

PM0810101591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Decree on Market Regulation"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—The rapid deepening of the economic crisis in Mongolia and the addition to it of the difficulties entailed in the process of transition to market relations require prompt measures from the country's government and parliament. Accordingly, MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat has issued a decree strengthening state regulation in the sphere of the economy.

The document, published Thursday, indicates that the situation is unsatisfactory regarding people's psychological preparation for independence in market economy conditions and that there are serious omissions in the organizational activity of state administrative structures. The head of state indicated to the Cabinet of Ministers the need for permanent control over the regulation and indexation of prices, recommending that it take urgent measures to expand production volumes and reduce the goods deficit.

The government is ordered to elaborate by 1 November 1991, together with the Mongolian Bank, measures to restrict the growth of prices and curb the fall in the exchange rate of the national currency. The country's president ordered the preparation of a plan for economic and social leadership in the MPR in market conditions and also of a structure for strategic planning of the maximum national economic level.

For virtually the first time, a document of this level contains instructions to the Cabinet of Ministers to adopt urgent measures to combat "organized economic crimes."

Addressing parliament, P. Ochirbat recommended that it discuss and approve before the end of the year the "basic guidelines for the MPR's monetary policy" and the law on support for honest competition.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRAVDA Views Cambodian Settlement Prospects

PM0310083591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[By P. Tsvetov: "Peace at the Tip of a Pen. Final Settlement of the Cambodian Problem Projected for 31 October"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—New York is the latest stage in the Cambodian settlement process. It was in this city that, after four days of meetings by the Cambodian sides between themselves in broad and narrow teams and with representatives of the Soviet Union, Britain, China, the United States, France, and Indonesia, an accord was reached that will lead to the signing of an agreement on an all-embracing political settlement of the Cambodian conflict in Paris 31 October.

Hammered out a year ago by participants in the International Conference on Cambodia in Paris, the draft agreement covers, in the first place, the problems of the transitional period up to the formation of a new government. It speaks of the prerogatives of the UN mission and the Cambodian Supreme National Council, a cease-fire, and a halt to military deliveries from outside. Second, it covers questions of the procedure for organizing and holding elections to the supreme organ of power. Third, it covers human rights guarantees in Cambodia. In addition, the agreement is to determine the fate of many thousands of refuges, displaced persons, prisoners of war, and internees; to lay down the basic principles of the Cambodian Constitution; and to call on the international community for economic and financial aid for the restoration and reconstruction of Cambodia. The agreement will also call for international guarantees

to safeguard this country's territorial independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and neutrality.

The draft agreement, consisting of just over 30 articles, with several appendixes running into many pages, was discussed for a particularly long time among the Cambodian sides. Until recently, agreement could not be reached between the opposing groups. Now virtually all the sides are ready to sign. Only minor details are still being finalized.

Why has movement toward agreement between the formerly implacable sides been made so quickly? I think that this summer the leaders of the factions realized that further protraction of the conflict threatens each of them and the country as a whole with disaster. If there is no reconciliation, there will be no foreign aid—this was the position taken by potential donors to a program for restoration of the Cambodian economy.

The rapprochement of the sides was almost simultaneous with the process of the normalization of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. Twelve years ago, the two Asian neighbors found themselves on different sides of the barricades, in many ways because of Cambodia. Today everything suggests that in the next month or two there will be an official announcement of the normalization of relations between these two states.

Peace now lies at the tip of the pen. Peace for Cambodia? Not only that. After all, it is the end of an entire era of wars in Indochina and the elimination of one more regional conflict on the planet.

Near East & South Asia

Middle East Peace Prospects Examined

PNC Votes To Participate

PM0410080191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5

[Sergey Filatov article under rubric "My Opinion": "One Step Back, Two Steps Forward?"]

[Text] Yet another obstacle in the way of an international peace conference on the Near East has been removed. At its 20th session in Algiers, the Palestine National Council [PNC], the parliament in exile, came out in favor of Palestinian participation in the forum, at which it is proposed to find a solution to the interminable regional conflict.

The debate, at times verging on acrimony, lasted nearly a week, and the line chosen by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat prevailed. The results of the session are encapsulated in the formula: "Participation in the peace conference is a chance that cannot be missed." Most PNC deputies backed this statement. Those who actively objected to further "concessions" were in a minority.

If you think about it, the Palestinians were indeed forced to give ground, for the umpteenth time, if only to achieve a precarious compromise with the Americans, who are making preparations for the conference in accordance with the "Baker plan." In the end they had to abandon the idea of independent participation and form a combined delegation with the Jordanians. A backdown? Clearly. But in exchange the United States promises to secure the establishment of Palestinian autonomy in Jordan's West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, currently occupied by Israel. One step back, two steps forward, as the saying goes.

It is normal to maneuver in politics, and Y. 'Arafat, using this method, is continuing to lead his compatriots toward the realization of their dream: the creation of an independent state. But if only everything depended on him. A positive response from Israel is needed to the Palestinians' "yes," but what one hears from it is mainly "no." The reaction in Israel now, after the PNC's decisions, is extremely painful. The reluctance to sit down at the negotiating table with the Palestinians is so strong that the government felt its position was getting somewhat shaky, even though it had not yet acquiesced. The right-wing opposition, anticipating a positive reply to Israel's participation in a peace conference face to face with the Palestinians, demanded the dismissal of the cabinet and the holding of early parliamentary elections.

If the Israelis eventually say no, the conference will fall through and all the Palestinians' sacrifices will have been in vain. I think this must be made perfectly clear. So at this stage the fate of the peace process is in the Israeli politicians' hands. The next few days will show how much maneuvering they can manage to do in such a delicate situation.

Although the conference has not yet assumed a clearly defined form, and while preliminary haggling is going on over the future decisions, it is worth taking note of the following detail. Public opinion could play a major role in the course of the conference. It is noticeable the way it is currently taking shape in our press. Many information organs have retreated from the universal support for the Palestinians, which was prevalent in our press only recently. But some, instead of rising to the level of an objective and balanced analysis of Palestinian and Israeli policy, have gone to the other extreme—portraying the Palestinians as terrorists.

Indeed there are extremist organizations in the Palestinian movement preaching violent methods of struggle, but they do not represent all of their compatriots. Moreover, the leader of one of these groups, Abu-al-'Abbas, was removed from the PLO Executive Commission at the PNC session. Y. 'Arafat and other Palestinian politicians publicly condemn terrorism and dissociate themselves from the gunmen's actions. So why are our journalists, who know very well what is what, increasingly stressing the Palestinians' "terrorism" and writing less and less about their political efforts? Who

needs that kind of reader indoctrination on the brink, I hope, of an imminent conference?

I, for example, have no doubt that a peace conference will take place sooner or later. I say this on the basis of one obvious fact: Five million Palestinians, an entire people, do not have a single square meter of their own territory, and the homeland is under an occupation that is condemned by the United Nations. How long will this situation last? Possibly a long time. But not forever.

'Realism' Shown by PNC

PM0810090591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Oct 91 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel R. Mustafin article under the "Observer's Column" rubric: "A Bird in the Hand..."]

[Text] The 20th session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] (the Palestinian parliament in exile) finished the other day in the Algerian capital. The session was a stormy one and took place in an atmosphere of acute confrontation between supporters and opponents of Y. 'Arafat—moderate pragmatists and intransigent radicals. 'Arafat prevailed. He succeeded not only in retaining the chairmanship of the PLO Executive Committee, thus demonstrating once again his characteristic flexibility in critical situations, but also in persuading a majority of the delegates at the session to compromise and refuse to set preconditions for taking part in a Near East peace conference.

This was not an easy task. It is said that the Palestinian leader even had to threaten to resign. Consequently, as is frequently the case in such a situation, Abu-al-'Abbas, head of the extremist Palestine Liberation Front organization, was "retired" from the new PLO Executive Committee. Last year his gunmen caused a lot of fuss when they made a landing on the Israeli coast, which led to a cessation of U.S.-Palestinian dialogue. At the time the United States demanded that 'Arafat condemn, dissociate himself from, and expel that "bad guy" Abu-al-'Abbas. Only now has he condemned and expelled him. Other PLO "bad boys" have been "strictly warned."

The session's concluding document indicates that the PLO welcomes the calls by Presidents M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush to convene a Near East peace conference. The PLO believes that the success of efforts to convene it requires continuing consultations with other parties in order to implement the main principles enshrined in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which presuppose complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories. The PLO reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of "land for peace" and its right as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" to form a delegation of Palestinians living both "inside the homeland and outside it, including Jerusalem." At the same time the PLO will not object either to the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

And so the Palestinians, on the basis of the present conditions, which are quite difficult for them, have displayed a considered approach and realism. They have rejected their long-traditional maximalist approach, embodied in slogans like "Cast Israel Into the Sea," which has never brought them anything but harm. Today they prefer a bird in the hand to two in the bush.

The results of the Palestinian forum were greeted in Washington "with a feeling of profound satisfaction." Tel Aviv's reaction followed quite quickly. Judging by statements from officials, Israel would rather go on a wild-goose chase—that is, to secure from the peace conference only things that suit Israel.

Israel will disregard the decision of the Palestine National Council supporting Palestinian participation in a Near East peace conference. "The PLO is not a participant in the peace process. Therefore none of its statements on this matter are of any significance," a ranking staffer of the Israeli prime minister's office stated. Nor does Tel Aviv intend to stop building settlements in the occupied lands.

However, just as the PLO is not the entire Palestinian people, so the Israeli Government does not represent all Israelis. The opposition Labor Party intends to raise the question of confidence in Y. Shamir's government at the Knesset (parliament) session that opens next week. In initiating this step, H. Ramon, leader of the "Ma'arakh" labor coalition faction, stated that the prime minister "prefers a policy of settlements and creating a greater Israel to national interests like the peace process, immigrants, and relations with the United States."

One way or another, Israelis face a choice: Either they must firmly insist on having their own way and "not abandoning their principles," thereby threatening to wreck the emergent peace process, or they must show the wisdom of Solomon and stop their wild-goose chase.

October Conference 'Unrealistic'

LD0410215891 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

Moscow October 4 TASS—It is unrealistic to expect to hold a Middle East peace conference in October, Vladimir Isayev and Aleksandr Filonik, researchers of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told TASS today.

Filonik said that one of the factors interfering with the conference is animosity between Israel and Arab countries that prevents them from getting down to a negotiating table.

He said that there is no unanimity about the conference in Israel. Some are against negotiations, others favour them but do not want the debate on territorial issues. Besides that, Arab countries have different viewpoints regarding the conference.

Isayev believes that all the problems cannot be resolved within a period assigned for the conference. "The Middle East problems cannot be resolved at one go," he said. He believes that stage-by-stage settlement is more expedient.

Isayev believes that a joint commission on Middle East settlement and commissions on separate key problems can be formed. When a commission on a separate problem arrives at a coordinated decision of the sides, it should turn documents over to general commission which will deal with the specific problem. Problems can gradually be resolved in this way and a pointless war in the region can be stopped.

Regarding the Middle East policy of the USSR, Isayev said that it now passes from an inter-state level to republican level, and republics themselves will be responsible for their foreign policy.

The problem is that there are few specialists on the Middle East in republics. People who are newcomers to diplomacy sometimes adopt decisions which antagonise both Israelis and Arabs. As a result Soviet diplomats can lose the support of either side and all the positions in the Middle East, he said.

When common sense prevails, it will be necessary to exert efforts to regain the lost positions in extremely promising Middle Eastern countries.

Many Arab countries are against the Soviet Union's withdrawal from the region. The Soviet Union has always balanced U.S. influence in the Middle East. If this balance is lacking, Americans will play the dominant role in the region and will be openly dictating their terms.

U.S. 'Motive' Eyed

LD0510182491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] By saying yes to the peace conference, the Palestinian leadership has taken another realistic step toward peace in the Middle East, a peace that could be reached by political means on the basis of the well-known UN Security Council resolutions.

Many members of the international community welcomed this step, including the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Israeli ruling circles remain committed to their previous extremist stand. They are even trying to harden it despite the risk of angering their principal ally, the U.S. Administration, even more. Shamir's government will not accept the settlement based on the principle of land in exchange for peace. [passage omitted]

Moreover, Israel is accelerating implementation of the settlement programs. Washington and the international community, in general, consider that as the principal obstacle to convening the peace conference. Therefore, construction of the Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories remains a disputable point in relations between the two strategic allies. Add to this, as some ministers in Shamir's government announce, the fact that the United States includes the PLO in the peace process.

There are now demands that the Israeli prime minister withdraw his participation in the conference while settlements in the Palestinian territories continue to be built, even without U.S. loans. After all, it was only Israel who, for many years, insisted on direct, unconditional negotiations with Arab neighbors.

As for the United States, it continues to exert political pressures on Israel to remove the latest obstacle to the Middle East peace process. Why is that?

There is a motive for the U.S. Administration to adopt such a stand in the region and in the international arena, in general, which witnessed immense changes since the Gulf war. Perhaps U.S. politicians now consider that restoring peace to the region is more important and practically more essential than adopting a single pro-Israel track. Therefore, the Israeli intransigent unrealistic stand toward settling its conflict with the Arabs is becoming increasingly contradictory to the U.S. Middle Eastern policies after the end of the cold war and the removal of the confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

Naturally, we should not think that the U.S. Administration has completely escaped the grip of cautiousness and the positions of confrontations reminiscent of the cold war. However, Washington is now capable of behaving in the region without the traditional outlook of Israel and the Israeli lobby in the U.S. Congress. President Bush's international political status, internally and externally, helps there: More than 70 percent of U.S. congressmen support President Bush in his confrontation with Israel over postponing the necessary securities for $10 billion in loans. The U.S. President and his secretary of state are now the subject of severe criticism and malicious campaigns in Israel. [passage omitted]

It seems that President Bush now does not intend to play the recently traditional role for the U.S. Administration, especially since the status that he acquired as a result of the Gulf events in the Arab administrative circles is very precious to him. This suits the Arab side in the conflict. Therefore, it would be unreasonable not to exploit the available opportunity to reactivate the peace issue. Whatever happens, the Arabs will not lose anything by participating in the peace conference; on the contrary, they will gain. If the conference fails, then that will be a new blow to Israel and its status. The Arab side and the Palestinians, as a whole, have done all they could to start the actual peace process. [passage omitted]

PLO Envoy on UN Resolutions for Palestine

LD0310133391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Excerpts] These days 40 years ago the United Nations adopted a resolution specifying the establishment of two states in Palestine: a Jewish state and an Arab state. In reality only one state appeared, Israel. This was how the Palestinian issue was born, and in all the following years, it remained the most painful wound in the Middle East. In this period, Israel proved its right and ability to survive, while the Palestinians proved that it would be impossible to deprive them, as a people, of their right to a homeland. This way the idea of two states for two people reemerged into the language of the politicians when they talk about the Middle East. How close have we come to the implementation of this idea now? Sa'id Abu-Imarah, Palestinian charge d'affaires in Moscow, answers this question:

[Begin Abu-Imarah recording] We, the Palestinians, always relied on international legitimacy in demanding our rights. The basis of this international legitimacy was UN Security Council Resolution 181, which specified the establishment of two states, one Jewish and the other Arab, on the land of Palestine. The state of Israel was established on that basis. [passage omitted]

At that time unfortunately the Palestians were not strong enough to follow up the implementation of that resolution, and a number of other factors came together and stopped the Palestinians from establishing their country. The State of Israel was established, and it snatched large parts of the Palestinian land specified by Resolution 181 for the establishment of the Palestinian state. Now we are in 1991, more than 43 years after the adoption of that resolution. We are now demanding again the implementation of international legitimacy by implementing the UN resolutions, by implementing Resolution 181, as well as resolutions 242 and 338, which specified the implementation of international legitimacy and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

I think that the circumstances are now more favorable and that there is a wide international understanding of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and to establish their state on their national soil. [end recording]

Primakov, Belonogov Middle East Visits Viewed

PM0210114391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel R. Mustafin "Observer's Opinion": "Taking Its Course"]

[Text] Soviet foreign policy seems to be becoming more pragmatic as the economic situation deteriorates in the Union, which has been split apart. The recently concluded visit by Ye. Primakov, the USSR president's special representative to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Iran, and Turkey, marks the end of the traditional globalist approach that frequently characterized our relations with the "Third World." This approach was determined by the fact that economic realities were pushed into the background by ambitious yet impracticable political schemes.

While the West knits its brow, pondering how to help its former opponent so as not to risk too much or greatly compromise its own interests, Moscow has turned its gaze to the Near East. Primakov's chief aim, as he himself declared, was to discuss questions of political and economic cooperation at a new stage in the USSR's development, with special emphasis on the economy. As far as I understand it, the "special emphasis" consists of trying to persuade rich Arab shaykhs to help us with "live" money.

The not-too-rich countries are also of equal interest to us now: Iran, Turkey, and Egypt supply the Soviet Union with necessary goods and participate in economic development. So there undoubtedly is reason in such a trip.

It cannot be said that the program of this visit was confined just to economic questions. The situation in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan and problems of a Near East settlement were discussed.

As regards the latter, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister A. Belonogov's visit to Tunisia and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's visit to Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Israel ended almost simultaneously with Ye. Primakov's trip. The tasks of the Soviet and U.S. diplomats were to influence the sides interested in a Near East settlement and push them toward a peace conference.

I believe that A. Belonogov's trip proved more fruitful than Baker's visit. He succeeded to a certain degree in clearing the way to mutual understanding between the Palestinians and the Americans in preparing a "memorandum of mutual understanding," which is to set forth the U.S. approach to the problems of the Near East process. It was evidently no coincidence that Baker had a meeting in Amman with Palestinian representatives after A. Belonogov's talks with Y. 'Arafat. The Soviet diplomat's success can also be ascribed to the complex position in which the Palestinians have found themselves after the war in the Persian Gulf. In addition, Moscow pretended not to notice the recent demarches of 'Arafat, who did not conceal his joy at the time of the August events in the USSR. That was probably the PLO leader's biggest boo-boo after his support for S. Husayn at the time of the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Nevertheless, they conveyed to him M.S. Gorbachev's gratitude for the message that 'Arafat did not fail to send to Moscow right after the putsch failed.

James Baker also pretended not to notice incensed Israelis bombarding his car with tomatoes in Jerusalem. I will remind you that this cooling in relations between Tel Aviv and Washington, which was not that unexpected, resulted from the intention of the White House to defer for several months the granting of guarantees for $10 billion in credits to Israel.

Baker's meeting with Syrian President H. al-Asad also ended in the sides' total silence. Observers interpret this as a failure at the talks, and so consider it very unlikely that a conference will be convened in the immediate future. No wonder. The task is too difficult. It is almost impossible to resolve it on one's own.

Therefore, however limited Moscow's present potential in the foreign policy arena might seem, it is no coincidence that Washington has chosen the Soviet Union to be its partner. I do not believe there is any point in our avoiding cooperation with the Americans in the matter of a Near East settlement. If we are able to give the Americans assistance in the Near East, maybe we will accelerate the receipt of aid from the United States and the West.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Patriotic Front in South Africa Viewed

MB2709145091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary]

[Text] During a news conference in Johannesburg, it was announced that a Patriotic Front would be established. Three liberation organizations would control this front: the African National Congress [ANC], the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], and the Azanian People's Organization [Azapo]. Aleksandr Fedorov comments:

The postponement of the establishment of the Patriotic Front, originally planned for 6 December, gave rise to several predictions. The most popular theory was that the ANC had lost interest in creating an alliance with the PAC and Azapo after its national conference in Durban. These rumors were fueled by statements made by certain executive representatives at the congress. Even statements made by Nelson Mandela hinted at this. In one interview he said that the establishment of the Patriotic Front is difficult to accommodate in the rapidly developing process of negotiations.

What has changed then? A lot has changed, especially the situation in the country. Negotiations with President de Klerk have not gained momentum—they have, in fact, slowed down. One does not have to be a politician to realize that the authority of any political party in South Africa depends on its commitment to constitutional dialogue. It seems as if the necessary atmosphere for the introduction of a multiparty conference has been created. The National Party's constitutional proposals have been published and 24 parties have signed a National Peace Accord. Earlier, the differences in opinion concerning an interim government proved to be the main stumbling block in the path of an alliance of anti-apartheid organizations. The PAC and Azapo preferred a constituent assembly.

After the Federal Congress of the National Party on 4 September, it became evident that they were not going to bow to pressure and hand over power to an interim government. Hopes of gaining the political highground following the Inkathagate scandal had also been dampened. The scandal has left virtually no blemish on the reputation of the Nationalists. The result was clear: The fight against pro-apartheid forces can only be won by a patriotic front. Fedorov believes that an alliance of black organizations can have an influence on the way in which other black organizations approach a multiparty conference.

The Conservative Party and other far right factions have, for a long time, been making use of enmity among black factions to show that if the ANC, PAC, Azapo, and other organizations cannot be united, then the country will be doomed if they come into power. One must admit that this propaganda has worked well. The establishment of a Patriotic Front is important to establish a democracy in South Africa. The role it plays in the future depends on how successful it is in coordinating its actions to establish a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

East Europe

Soviet Diplomat on Gorbachev's Yugoslav Appeal

OW0810002291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A high-ranking official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said that President Gorbachev's call on Yugoslavia's leaders and on the commanders of the Yugoslav People's Army to show restraint and implement the ceasefire agreement has helped check further escalation of combat operations in Croatia.

President Gorbachev's appeal was passed last night to vice-chairman of the Presidium of Yugoslavia, to the commanders of that country's Armed Forces, and also to the Croatian leaders. The appeal was made in response to the news that an attack on the industrial centres and even on the Croatian capital of Zagreb had been contemplated.

Alexey Nikiforov who represents the Soviet Foreign Ministry's 3rd European Department told IF [INTERFAX] that strict observance of the ceasefire agreement was vitally important. He also had in mind the need to lift the blockade from the Yugoslav People's Army's garrisons in Croatia.

"We have been assured by Belgrade that if this blockade is lifted, the Army will end combat operations, said Alexey Nikiforov. [No end quote received]

The Soviet diplomat stressed that search for peaceful settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia should be continued. He said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry was

weighing out various modes of action with due account taken of possible developments in that country.

What is meant here, according to well-informed sources, is both the Soviet side's unilateral initiatives and collective efforts within the CSCE process. According to these sources, Soviet and American ambassadors had talks in Belgrade last night.

Yugoslav 'Buffer Force' Not Ruled Out

AU0710153091 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By Paola Messana]

[Excerpts] Moscow, Oct 7 (AFP)—The Soviet Union urged an immediate end to fighting in Yugoslavia on Monday [7 October] and "complete and unconditional" respect for the latest ceasefire there, in an appeal mirroring the Kremlin's own fears of civil war and disintegration.

The message sent on President Mikhail Gorbachev's orders to the Belgrade leadership and the federal military high command voiced "growing concern" at the "extension of military activities in Croatia."

It said such an "escalation" would give the Yugoslav crisis a "yet more dangerous dimension" and arouse general condemnation in the world.

A top official in the Foreign Ministry, Alexei Nikiforov, said the Soviets did not rule out the despatch of a buffer force to Yugoslavia, but it would have to be requested by Belgrade.

The Soviet position to date has been to warn of the risk of turning the Yugoslav civil war into a European conflict if the international community intervened in favour of one of the belligerents. [passage omitted]

Regarding Yugoslavia, Moscow is no longer stressing in its statements the need to maintain the federation's territorial integrity.

Nikiforov, deputy chief of the ministry's Europe desk, explained: "It poses no problems for us if Slovenia quits Yugoslavia tomorrow and the other republics of the Yugoslav federation recognise it." [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia Appreciates Soviet Peace Efforts

LD0710153191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1441 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By correspondent Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TASS)— The appeal by USSR President M. S. Gorbachev to the SFRY leadership and Yugoslav National Army [YPA] supreme command to display maximum responsibility and restraint and to halt immediately all military actions in Croatia has been received with all seriousness in the political and social circles of Yugoslavia.

Vadim Loginov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, told the TASS correspondent that after this document was received from Moscow it was handed over immediately to Branko Kostic, vice president of the Presidency, and to the supreme command of the YPA. The content of the appeal was also conveyed to Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia. All the Yugoslav interlocutors paid great heed to the appeal by the USSR president and expressed gratitude for the efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at ending the bloodshed and at the earliest resolution of the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Branko Kostic stressed that all the peoples of Yugoslavia, the SFRY Presidium, and the supreme command of the YPA have an interest in a peaceful solution to the crisis. For his part, F. Tudjman expressed gratitude to M. S. Gorbachev for the desire to put an end to the armed actions in Croatia.

New Soviet-CSFR Treaty Viewed

PM0810091991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5

[By correspondent A. Krushinskiy: "On New Terms Means According to the Rules"]

[Text] Prague—This is being repeated for the second year in succession with the advent of fall. When the hands of the clock are adjusted to winter time, the rhythm of the Cernin Palace, where the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry is situated, speeds up to the limit. Last fall here was called "the season of high-ranking visits." It was then that politicians visited Prague one after another, as though on a conveyor belt. Now ceremonies to sign international treaties are on the production line.

On Tuesday [1 October] in Paris Presidents Havel and Mitterrand put their signatures to a Czechoslovak-French treaty on mutual understanding and cooperation. Next week German President von Weizsaecker, who intends to initial a new Czechoslovak-German treaty, is expected here. And yesterday an event took place that directly affects the citizens of our country and for which the present report is being written: The Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty "on good-neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation" has been initialled here in the Cernin Palace.

It may be said that history is now developing in accordance with the laws of logic: What was sown last year (having been considered and discussed as a result of numerous political contacts) is being reaped this year. There are nuances of interest here. Thus, a year ago I remember, the Czechoslovak-German treaty seemed a relatively simple matter and a Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty very complex. Let us recall that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from here had only just begun and the local press was full of caustic (sometimes very tactless) remarks about politicians, including the president. The main obstacle was one point in the draft treaty: Our side insisted on including in it mutual undertakings not to

enter into alliances aimed against each other. The Czechoslovak representatives objected: "We do not intend to join such alliances even now, but this point in the treaty is tantamount to a restriction of sovereignty."

One round of consultations followed another, but the matter did not advance "from a standstill." There were various opinions among us journalists. For instance: "They have found something to argue about! Whether something has been written down or not, what is the difference? In any case each person will act as he needs. Others argued differently: "An unfortunate formulation in an interstate treaty is like a time bomb." That can be backed up by facts from life. For instance, take the formulation concerning the present heated debates on the Czechoslovak-German treaty—"Munich agreement invalid" or "Munich agreement invalid from the outset." The difference is, it turns out, substantial, going as far as the fact that in the second instance a basis is created for property right claims by individual citizens on the state...

Actually, let us return to the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty. The authors of future textbooks on the history of diplomacy will, I think, devote many graphic pages to these three October days in Prague. For a start, there is the fact that Boris Pankin, who just six weeks ago held the post of Soviet ambassador here, is coming as foreign minister and initialling a document he had previously prepared in his role as ambassador. Back at that time, I can attest to this personally, he argued approximately as follows: Why insist on the point about not entering into hostile alliances if the time of hostile alliances has passed? So the controversial point was removed from the text. One more delicate element: the denunciation of the Soviet invasion in 1968. The preamble of the draft treaty contained this idea, but during those days one could hear it said in the corridors that the Czechoslovak side was insisting on making the formulation stronger, not "for the sake of principle" but to protect the document from attacks during subsequent ratification in the Federal Assembly. Here the minister went halfway to meet them, making an official statement within the framework of the initialling ceremony.

At the same time a plan for scientific and cultural cooperation was consolidated in the Cernin Palace. An agreement was signed on a non-visa regime.

These days we are hearing arguments that the initialling of the treaty became possible only thanks to the democratic revolution during the suppression of the Moscow putsch. I would agree with this only in part. Yes, the process of the normalization of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations has accelerated in the past month (as has the history of our transformation in general), but the history of this process in no way began 21 August this year. After all, by then the Soviet troops had been withdrawn from the CSFR entirely in accordance with the previously agreed schedule. I would not say that the treaty has introduced any qualitatively new principles. To be more precise, it has enshrined juridically the genuine equal rights that have been implemented here for nearly two years.

Being friends on new terms means being friends according to the rules, the international rules enshrined in the UN Charter and backed up by the Helsinki and Paris Charters.

Soviet-Polish Bank To Service Bilateral Trade

OW0310043391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2254 GMT 2 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] East-West, a trade and industrial centre established by the USSR, Polish, Ukrainian and Belorussian chambers of commerce and industry and Austrian firms in 1990, plans to set up a Soviet-Polish bank to service bilateral trade.

The bank, to be located in Poland, will have a capital base of more than $10 million. The protocol on the establishment of the bank was signed by the Soviet side and Poland in the spring of 1991; talks are currently under way on including Western financial structures among the bank's founders. The bank's branches are planned in Moscow and Kiev.

West Europe

European Leaders Agree on Food, Humanitarian Aid

PM0810094591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Single Edition pp 1, 5

[By correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Downing Street Conference: There Will Be Aid, but in Smaller Quantities"]

[Text] London, 4 Oct—Yesterday British Prime Minister John Major held a coordinating conference with EC President Jacques Delors and Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers at his residence at which a package of food aid and other humanitarian assistance to the Soviet Union in the next few months was arranged.

Although this package still has to be approved by EC finance ministers on Monday [30 September], the question has been decided in principle. The participants in the Downing Street conference did not agree with panicky assertions that the USSR is going to go hungry this winter. Nevertheless, after listening to experts, they did acknowledge that food shortages in various regions are perfectly possible. John Major, discharging as leader of the G-7 this year the functions of coordinator of food assistance to the USSR, stated: "It seems possible, and even likely, that food shortages will be felt in the USSR this winter. But we have no accurate information as yet as to what that shortage will be, where it will occur, or the scale of aid needed."

The British mass media do not disguise their skepticism over Moscow's aid request figures. A number of commentators consider them clearly inflated and simply made up. However that may be, Major and his interlocutors decided that aid will be given on a more modest scale than requested by Moscow. Although no figure has been given, THE TIMES writes that the EC package will come to roughly 1.5 billion pounds and will be allocated as credits to buy food from the EC and East European countries. Moreover, in the next few days Major will be asking the United States and Canada to make parallel efforts in this direction. The total Western aid, it is thought here, will not exceed 3 billion pounds.

But even this aid will come to us only when the West receives specific evidence of the regions experiencing shortage and the scale of that shortage. The package, which could include medicine together with food, will be allocated not in a centralized way, but on a republic basis, and with strict control to avoid theft and black marketeering.

WGF Chief Confirms No Nuclear Arms in Germany

PM0810104991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Union Edition p 5

[By correspondent V. Lapskiy: "To Dispel Misunderstanding"]

[Text] Berlin—The Social Democratic politician Norbert Gansel maintains that not all the nuclear weapons that were at the disposal of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] have been removed from the territory of the former GDR. Newspapers have now taken up his statement and are casting doubt on the sincerity of our politicians and military figures with respect to Germany.

I asked Colonel General M.P. Burlakov, commander in chief of the WGF, to comment on Gansel's statement.

"This statement," Matvey Prokopyevich said in conversation with me, "does not correspond to the truth, to put it mildly. We have given the German newspapers a denial, and I personally handed the text of it to Bjoern Engholm, chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany]. I expressed my attitude that an SPD politician is accusing us of dishonesty. I got the impression that Mr. Engholm, on the whole, understands our concern. I hope that some steps will be taken in this sphere.

"I want to assure the Soviet and German public," Gen. Burlakov continued, "that we have removed the remaining nuclear weapons from the territory of the former GDR, and there are now none at the disposal of the WGF. The bulk of the nuclear charges was removed to the USSR as long ago as last year. What was left was under the direct jurisdiction of senior chiefs. I told Mr. Engholm that I would agree to make available for inspection any point in the WGF. Let competent persons see for themselves that we are behaving honestly and not concealing any nuclear ammunition.

"On Thursday [3 October] I was handed a request from FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg that said he would like to send working groups to us for the purpose of conducting a check. He named two points German experts intend to visit: Torgau and Zeithain. We await the German specialists' arrival and hope that the misunderstanding occasioned by Gansel's statement will soon be dispelled."

Swiss Asked To Check Accounts for CPSU Money

PM0310095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[By correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy: "Party Deposits in Switzerland: Explanation Demanded"]

[Text] Geneva—The Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs has studied a note from the Soviet Embassy in Berne requesting a check on the existence of CPSU and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party accounts in Swiss banks as well as the freezing of assets contained there. Commenting on this diplomatic demarche, Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Marcus-Alexander Antonietti drew attention to the fact that the Soviet note was expressed in too general terms. This means, local commentators believe, that the Swiss side should not take specific steps to give the Soviet Union legal assistance in the search for the party assets presumed to be in local banks before being given the necessary additional information.

For the Swiss Government, requests to search local banks for appropriated or illegally exported funds, like the demands to return them as soon as possible, have become a routine event. Usually these requests are satisfied in accordance with a complex but quite precise procedure well tested by legislation here.

To investigate private bank accounts, it is necessary each time to adopt a special government decree temporarily suspending the operation of Switzerland's famous "bank secrecy" for a specific reason. In such cases accounts are checked by a government ad hoc commission. In turn, Berne may undertake such exceptional measures only when there are serious and plausible grounds. In particular, this requires an official and justified request for assistance from the government concerned. If unofficial information leaks are to be believed, the reason for the note from the Soviet embassy in Berne was an instruction from the RSFSR Foreign Ministry, not the Union government. However, the problem does not end there. The Soviet side will need substantial legal grounds, including an open trial, to prove the right of plaintiff to the party resources that are being sought in Switzerland. It will also need close cooperation between the two sides in the search for the party accounts believed to be in Swiss banks as well as the transfer to the Swiss authorities of all the necessary information. The Soviet side will also have to accept the fact that it will clearly not be able to do without the services of Swiss lawyers.

There are certain plus points for the investigation of the question of CPSU resources in Swiss banks. By decision of the Swiss Federal Banking Commission, work will begin here this summer [as published] to end the secrecy of private bank accounts (Form B accounts). In connection with the decision to abolish Form B, all accounts will now be made out only in the name of the account holder, whereas until recently it was possible, using Form B, to open accounts in the name of an intermediary—a society, lawyer, notary, or other agent—and pay a small sum for this service. The real owner of the account could thus remain unknown.

Even before the Foreign Affairs Department received the Soviet note, the question of the possible transfer of CPSU funds to the West was raised in the Swiss press in connection with publications in the Soviet press. The weekly L'HEBDO suggests that the recent visit to Zurich by Georgiy Matyukhin, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Central Bank, may be connected with the search for "illegal escape routes" for Soviet gold into the international market. Reporting on the Soviet embassy note, the newspaper LA LIBERTE cited information from the Swiss National Bank that Soviet assets in Swiss banks by the end of 1990 totalled 2,707,000,000 Swiss Francs (around $2 billion).

Turkish Firm To Build Housing for Servicemen

PM0810103791

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 4 October 1991 carries in its Union Edition on page 1 under the headline "Germany is Paying. Turks Are Building. But Soviet Officers Are Going To Live There" an unattributed photofeature on the construction of homes in the USSR for the Soviet soldiers returning from the FRG. The feature includes two pictures. The first shows a man pointing, the second shows people working on a construction site. The text reads in full as follows:

"One of the foreign subcontractors working for the credits granted to us by the FRG Government for the construction of apartment blocks for the families of officers leaving Germany is the Turkish construction company Enka [name as transliterated].

"The contract for the construction of a residential district in Borisovo, Belorussia, which Enka won in competition with construction firms from our country and abroad, is worth almost 120 million deutsche marks. There will be 725 apartments, a 280-place kindergarten, a swimming pool, a consumer service combine, a boiler, a pumping station, an automatic telephone exchange, and everything else that people need for normal life.

"Construction began 19 June and is due to be completed by the new year. In other words, in 195 days. A record. Our correspondent, who recently visited the construction site in Borisovo, saw for himself: The Turkish builders do not make rash promises, they keep their word. Despite the age-old Soviet difficulties and disruptions to the supply of construction materials, for which we are accountable, the work schedule is being strictly adhered to, not to mention the quality of work. That is obvious even from these photographs.

"But of course it is not just a question of records. The main thing is that soon 725 officers families will at last receive well-appointed, comfortable housing. It is a drop in the ocean compared with the 200,000 homeless people, but even 700 smiling faces is cause for celebration.

"Thank you, Enka, for your capitalist shock labor!"

Attack on Soldier in Gotha Under Investigation

LD0710011491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1804 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Voronenkov]

[Text] Berlin, 6 Oct (TASS)—A report given to TASS by the press center of the Western Group of Forces notes the growth in illegal actions by FRG citizens toward Soviet servicemen and members of their families. In the early hours of 5 October, Ensign Grigoriy Bilyash was thrown from the third floor of a building in the city of Gotha (Thuringia—TASS) by unknown FRG citizens. He was living in a half-empty building that was planned to be handed over to the German authorities on 9 October. Currently, he is in a German clinic in the city of Gotha in serious condition.

Bodies of the criminal police and law enforcement bodies of the Western Group of Forces have started criminal proceedings and have opened an investigation.

The command of the Western Group of Forces has asked the FRG federal and regional authorities frequently to take the necessary measures to protect Soviet citizens in Germany from hooligan outbursts on the part of the local population, the press center report notes.

Bavaria Entry Regulations Tightened for USSR

92UF0037 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, Oct 91 p 8

[Text] I have heard that Bavaria has stopped allowing citizens from the USSR arriving there by personal invitations to enter its territory. Is this so? [Signed] Yu. Bauer, Moscow

Our correspondent V. Buldakov put this question to I. Khalevinskiy, first deputy chief of the consular administration of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Bavaria (Germany) accepts Soviet citizens arriving by personal invitations. Recently, however, incidents have become more frequent in which our compatriots arriving in Munich from Moscow and St. Petersburg have been denied entry because Bavaria has tightened its regulations on the entry of foreigners.

Selective checks of citizens arriving from East European countries, including the USSR, are now being made right in the airport. For entry into the country, each of these persons must have in his possession a return ticket and monetary means in the amount of 20-25 West German marks for each day of stay in the country (for a period not to exceed three months).

Information about the sponsoring party is verified right at the airport in order to preclude the possibility of entry on false visas.

Travel on personal business with the aim of even temporary work arrangements in not permitted.

FRG Defector To Remain Outside Germany

LD0810095891 Berlin ADN in German 1447 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow/Berlin (ADN)—Hansjoachim Tiedge has left Germany "for good." This was announced by telephone from Moscow to ADN by the former chief executive officer of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, for whom an arrest warrant has been issued in the Federal Republic. Tiedge defected in 1985 to GDR counterintelligence under Markus Wolf and escaped to Moscow shortly before German unification.

Latin America & Caribbean

Demonstration Held at Cuban Embassy in Moscow

OW0510181291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF [INTERFAX], there was a half-hour demonstration in front of the Cuban Embassy in Moscow on Friday. The 8 demonstrators who represented the Democratic Union displayed banners saying: "Castro is a Plotter", "Down with Psychofashism in Cuba", and "Stop Aid to Castro Regime."

Former Ambassador on Relations With Cuba

PY0610004891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0230 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Interview with Yuriy Vladimirovich Petrov, former USSR ambassador to Cuba, by unidentified Radio Moscow reporter on the "Horizon" show; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Yuriy Vladimirovich, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev stated during one of his most recent television interviews that USSR-Cuban economic relations are changing to become mutually advantageous. What can you tell us about this statement?

[Petrov, Spanish summation] Yuriy Petrov replied that relations between the USSR and Cuba are indeed becoming more advantageous for both parties. He feels that the foundation for this has been built. Thirty years of development after the revolution have radically changed Cuba. Cuba has developed several economic activities that permit an exchange of goods. We now can talk in terms of a more balanced trade.

During the last five-year period, we granted loans for 4 billion rubles; recently they were drastically reduced. I believe that soon we will be able to reach a complete balance, Yuriy Petrov stated. We are studying the possibilities for an amortization of the loans, but for the time being it would be difficult to say how this can be accomplished. [Words indistinct] must fulfill our current commitments to Cuba. It is necessary to keep the economy of this country operational so that the jointly developed metalworking, pharmaceutical, and sugar-processing potential can be put to work profitably.

To do that, Cuba needs some resources that we used to supply them (?exactly for that reason, and) complying with the recommendations and requests made by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Havana in 1989. [Words indistinct] our ties with Cuba become imbalanced. Cuba has a really great potential. We can continue to work in this direction, but we will do it more carefully, [word indistinct], and (?facts). We must take into consideration our experience in trading with East European countries. This experience has taught us that in such situations there can be no haste. [Word indistinct] evaluated, the two countries must make careful calculations and base all actions in their mutual interests.

[Reporter] In Yuriy Petrov's opinion, does the recently ordered withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade mean that Soviet-Cuban military cooperation [words indistinct] has ended?

[Petrov] No, said Yuriy Petrov. I believe that this is not the end of all military cooperation. The suspension will depend on various factors. [word indistinct] the period for the withdrawal of the troops will be coordinated, and the withdrawal itself will take some time.

During the years in which we cooperated with Cuba, the USSR supplied Cuba with a considerable amount of war materiel. As everyone knows, some of this materiel must be replaced and repaired.

In my view, the Soviet Government position regarding this complex problem is closely related to the U.S. position regarding Cuba. Unfortunately, reasonably noticeable changes in this situation have not occurred. Therefore, some solutions [word indistinct], although the strategy is (?correct).

[Reporter] Thank you very much for this interview, Yuriy Vladimirovich. We hope it has been of interest to our listeners and that they will send us more interesting questions. If this occurs, we will again invite you to participate in our program.

[Petrov] I will be pleased to do so. Goodbye.

Supreme Soviet

Republican Delegations Meet at Working Conference

LD0510055191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A working conference of the republican delegations of the renewed USSR Supreme Soviet was held in the Kremlin. A decision was adopted on the formation of a preparatory committee for the next Supreme Soviet session.

[Begin correspondent A. Pishchayev recording] From the very first moment, the conference of representatives of the republican delegations of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of the Union reminded one of a squabble, according to the deputies themselves. Some 87 Union and republican parliamentarians gathered at the invitation of the initiative group of the country's Supreme Soviet to prepare for the forthcoming session of the supreme legislative body in its new composition. It was planned to discuss standing orders, the agenda, and brief organizational matters, but all it boiled down to was claims and accusations.

The deputies stubbornly tried to establish on what principle the composition of the Soviet of the Union was formed and why the so- called representatives of the conservative but very able-bodied forces had not been included in it. Why are there no delegates from oblasts and krays? Accusations were even heard in the corridors on solutions to the cadre issue. Although the chairman of the conference asked for this subject to be closed on more than one occasion, having given exhaustive explanations, the parliamentarians continued to persist. The deputies were also unclear as to how they could independently engage in preparing for the session, seemingly forgetting that they are representatives of the republics. They proposed asking for new powers, in this way postponing indefinitely the opening of the session.

In other words, waves of fatuous discussion and logomachy rolled across the hall. One got the impression that the conference was taking place according to the trite scenario of the recent Supreme Soviet session. Still, the meeting did have a use. The deputies finally decided to form a preparatory committee of representatives of the republics. Was it worth wasting so much effort for this?

One can well imagine how the planned session will go. The composition of the Supreme Soviet is a new one, but the old habits, sad to say, remain. [end recording] [video shows delegates in session]

Officials Comment on Postponement of Session

Nishanov Explains

LD0410221491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Studio interview with Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Council of Nationalities, by announcer Dmitriy Linnik; from the "TV Inform" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Linnik] Rafik Nishanovich, there is great interest even in the very idea of a renewed Supreme Soviet, how the process of its organization is proceeding, and why the date of the Supreme Soviet session has been postponed from 8 to 21 October. Tell us about this, please.

[Nishanov] Well, despite the fact that the date for the session has been postponed from 8 to 21 October, the interrepublican preparatory committee for the convocation of the Supreme Soviet began its work in the Kremlin yesterday. And by today all of the republics had completed organizing the composition of their delegations, both to the Soviet of the Republics [as heard] and within the Union.

Three republics—the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia—will consider confirming the composition of their deputations to both chambers of the Supreme Soviet on 8, 9, and 16 October. For this reason the leaders of these republics requested—if possible—to be given the opportunity to complete this work. In addition to this, we made an appeal to the leaderships of Moldova and the Baltic republics that they consider the possiblity of sending their delegations during this transition period, perhaps in the capacity of observers, either for work within the chambers of the Supreme Soviet or within the committees and commissions of the chambers. All of the participants of the preparatory committee supported this appeal amicably and asked Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the country's president, to postpone the date until the 21st.

[Linnik] Are there any other reasons for the postponement of the date?

[Nishanov] No, there are no other reasons.

[Linnik] Thank you.

People's Deputy Remarks

LD0410165691 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—The fixing of the date of the convocation of a new federal parliament for October 21, the third one over the past month, "is by no means evidence of a crisis in the top echelons of political power, although it may be regarded as such," USSR

People's Deputy Andrey Sebentsov, one of the heads of the preparatory committee for organising a new parliament, told TASS.

He admitted that another postponement of the convocation of the parliament may give rise to numerous questions, for instance: "What kind of authority is it, if it cannot even get together?" Sebentsov stressed, however, that it is better for the federal parliament to take an unpopular step once again, but work out compromises and a common stand for all republics on problems of the organisation of representative authority.

He said that the decision to postpone the convocation of the parliament had been taken on Thursday [3 October] night at a session of the preparatory committee, made up of representatives of republican delegations. The reason for it was that not all the republican parliaments have managed so far to form and approve their delegations to the new federal parliament. "If the parliament begins to work, when not all delegations are present, this may affect the balance of political power in the republics and induce them to refuse to take part in the work of federal authorities," Sebentsov said.

"By fixing the date of the beginning of the session on October 21, which is a realistic date in my opinion, we have demonstrated the readiness to respect internal difficulties of the republics. I am sure this will help us in the future to work out common solutions for our common problems," Sebentsov stressed.

In his opinion, the postponement of the beginning of the session may give some time for the stabilisation of the situation in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia and "give them an opportunity to decide whether or not they wish to take part in the work of the new parliament." According to Sebentsov, the preparatory committee discussed on Thursday a possible participation of delegations from the Baltic republics in the work of the new parliament with a status of observers.

He said that the preparatory committee would again meet today. It is planned to complete the working out of the order of the forthcoming parliamentary session and time limits for it. Responding to a question about the preliminary agenda, Sebentsov said that it was too early to speak about it. He believes that the new parliament should devote less attention to law-making, but concentrate more on being "a restrictive factor for new executive authorities, the Soviet president and the State Council and on controlling their activities."

IZVESTIYA Observers Comment on Postponement

PM0810105191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary observers A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "Union Parliament Session Postponed Again. Political Differences Must Not Wreck Schedule for Signing Economic Treaty"]

[Text] The date for opening the first sitting of the new USSR Supreme Soviet session is being postponed for a third time. At first, according to the Law on USSR Organs of State Power and Management in the Transitional Period, the session was to have opened 2 October. There then followed the USSR presidential decree on a week's postponement. And now the head of state has issued a new decree postponing the convening of the USSR Supreme Soviet session until 21 October. This is due to the fact that the leaders of certain republics have reported on the impossibility of completing the formation of their deputations to the Union parliament before 8 October this year.

On the evening of 3 October A. Maslennikov, leader of the USSR Supreme Soviet Press Service, announced to journalists gathered in the Kremlin that the leaders of the republic delegations were ready to meet with representatives of the mass media and answer their questions. However, contrary to expectations, none of the republics' representatives came out to meet them.

Most likely, it was a commonplace mistake. You generally get the impression that the USSR Supreme Soviet apparatus is in a state of confusion, and this is affecting the fulfillment of its functions. It has become appreciably harder to obtain information about the activity of the country's parliament and, conversely, sensational and almost scandalous documents of unknown origin suddenly turn up within the walls of parliament. Obviously, the situation of hard times and uncertainty is telling. And it is possible to understand this on a human plane. What can be demanded of apparatus staffers when the fate of the chairmen of the Supreme Soviet chambers still remains unclear!

Nevertheless, we have managed to learn from informed sources that it was not easy to decide on the new date for starting the session's work. The main problem is that three republics—the Ukraine, Armenia, and Azerbaijan—have still not formed deputations to the Union parliament. And it makes no sense to begin the session's work without their participation. The deputations are to be elected 8 October in the Ukraine, 7-9 October in Armenia, and 16 October in Azerbaijan. It has also become known that representatives from Georgia will participate in the work of the Union parliament—true, as observers. In addition, there are now grounds for assuming that Moldova will also join in the work of the Union Supreme Soviet in some form.

The biggest questions are prompted by the prospect of the Ukraine's participation in the work of the Union parliament. It is known that there is active discussion there today of whether the republic should participate at all in the activities of interrepublic and central organs. Thus, 8 October may be considered the date for deciding the final position. The future of the Union Supreme Soviet will largely depend on this position. Meanwhile, the slogan of abandoning participation in the work of the Union parliament enjoys certain popularity in the Ukraine and, in particular, in the republic Supreme

Soviet. And there are grounds for believing that during the election struggle, which has gotten under way in the republic, the aspirants to the presidency will not resist the temptation of playing it as a trump card.

It was almost by chance that journalists learned the news that the session date was being postponed, because several dozen representatives of the Soviet and foreign mass media had gathered in the Supreme Soviet's small hall on that evening for quite a different reason. The parliamentary commission to investigate the causes and circumstances of the attempted coup d'etat was giving its first news conference.

In his introductory speech Deputy Aleksandr Obolenskiy, chairman of the commission, devoted a lot of attention to the need for a balanced approach to the assessment of events, warned against attempts to seek guilty persons only in the Communists' camp and, toward the end, announced that if journalists had come for sensations they would have a long wait.

We learned neither sensations nor even specific information about just what the commission is doing. It turns out that the commission members, in order to avoid a leak of information, had given each other not only their word to refrain from unauthorized contacts with the press but also a written undertaking not to divulge state secrets. The fact that the commission will submit the results of its work to the Union Parliament 1 December, most likely in a closed sitting, may probably be considered the sole concrete fact that A. Obolenskiy deemed it possible to divulge. And, maybe, also the news that A. Obolenskiy no longer intends to run as a candidate for the USSR presidency.

Several times journalists directly asked the commission chairman: "Why did you invite us if you have nothing to say?"

It was possible to draw this conclusion from A. Obolenskiy's replies: Only so that the public would learn of the commission's balanced approach to the investigation and not regard it as some avenging sword.

Political & Social

Secret Party Documents Discredit Lenin, CPSU

First in Series

PM0410112891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[First article in series by commentator Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary to the Russian president and KOMSOMOLKAYA PRAVDA commentator, "based on top-secret documents": "Land of Commandments: CPSU Short Course in Top-Secret Documents"]

[Text] I am wandering through the deserted corridors of the CPSU Central Committee. Outside there is the usual Moscow bustle. Inside it is as silent as the grave. An unreal, otherworldly atmosphere... The doors of the sealed apartments still bear the names of their former owners. I recognized one of them—N. Kruchina, the central committee administrator of affairs. I entered his office with a strange sensation because until now I had not had an opportunity to cross this threshold. I had never even had the honor to hold the handle of this hallowed door.

In the disorderly heap of jumbled papers I found a document with the angry instructions of the "man himself": "Wrong! This is all about today. What about tomorrow? Think!!!" Many of those who worked here felt that tomorrow would not come. Nevertheless, they did not sit around idly. They thought, they prepared, they tried out options. I do not think this was because the "party subjects" were so afraid of the instructions of the "party rulers." It is all deeper and more serious than that. And more terrible.

1. In the Wild World of Absurd Ideas

The political sobering up of the top party leadership did not happen. Raised on the communist idea, it soon recovered from the slight shock of perestroyka and went onto the offensive. Its banner was the increasing economic crisis in the country and especially in those regions where opposition forces had come to power. Furthermore, against the background of all our upheavals in society nostalgia for the past became even stronger and the exposures of past crimes against the people, which are beyond number, no longer caused the shock that they used to. It is no coincidence that it was precisely then that a succession of different versions of the CPSU's historical noninvolvement in all our troubles, past and present, began to be created deep within the party apparatus.

...Flicking through the top-secret documents issued from the apparatus of the former leader of Russia's Communists, I happened upon the typescript of a speech by N. Kondratenko, chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet. I would not care to guess what I. Polozkov made of his old friend's work. But a few paragraphs clearly caught his attention: They had been highlighted with a red pencil with an exclamation mark in the margin and the comment: "Discuss." But discuss what? At the risk of boring the reader, I think this deserves a lengthy quotation.

"The problem of the Zionist danger—that real threat to the future of the Russian people— is being completely hushed up... You ask—Where are these Zionocrats?.. They are present wherever the struggle for power is being waged. The Bolsheviks struggled for power—they were among them—now other forces are craving power—they are there, too. Furthermore, in both the first and the second instances they settle in at the head of the movement... Today the representatives of Zionocracy are cleverly posing as democrats... Therefore, I would ask you, dear comrades, to investigate thoroughly, study your leaders closely. After all, we Communists were in your position. And if the party has to bear the blame then

it must only be for the fact that we did not teach people to understand big-time politics and distinguish the aims and tactics of Zionism..."

I do not think that it takes a thorough analysis of political revelations like that to understand their main essence. It is on the surface: It is to lead on those people who have lost their way in the fog of perestroyka and to persuade them that the Communist Party is not to blame for all that happened to the country and the people. The party itself is the victim of the "Zionists, pro-Zionists, and Judas hirelings" who have now deserted to the "so-called democrats." It is no surprise that the party apparatus even nowadays has produced such an absurdity. It is the genetic heir to the Communists: "concocting" an enemy image and inciting the "broad popular masses" to combat it. The duped, the frightened, the plundered masses... There is another surprising factor—there are still people who sincerely believe in this madness! That is why it is so important to publish the documents discovered in the party archives which previously virtually no one knew about. They prove the complete opposite: The party not only knew but also directly led all the acts of lawlessness perpetrated in the country for many years.

...I have before me a bundle of papers that have turned yellow with age—letters sent during a single month—June 1930—to M. Kalinin in person from different corners of Russia. Each is stamped "Secret," and each bears the handwritten instructions of the senior official of all the Russias. And all these papers relate to the absolute power of the communist leadership and the lack of rights of ordinary people. Therefore, I shall quote just one of them, in no way different from the rest.

"In the first half of February they began to create a kolkhoz here. People were herded into it under threat of exile to Siberia and deprivation of rights. They seized everything, even the equipment. But when the explanation came from the center, people took their plows home. Then our rural party members went to the rayon to request a punitive detachment... Around 50 Red Army men came and immediately began taking everything away. They smashed the doors and locks—there was nothing in the village but the sound of crashing!.. One women lay across her plow and screamed: 'I won't let you take it!' Then they began beating her with their rifle butts. People began running toward the noise but the soldiers began firing on them for no reason. Many were wounded. They included my daughter—a bullet hit her in the lung... Do they do things like that in free Russia?" (V. Fatyushin, Novo-Mikhaylovka village, Yeletskiy Okrug).

There are many letters, over 100. And they have in common not just their essential content but also the fate of their authors. In most cases it is an unenviable one, because the party, to set an example to others, responded "with all the proletariat's hatred" to many who sought protection from "true Leninists" then... So who is to blame for these and many other crimes? For the fact that the richest country in the world was reduced to beggary as a result of communist rule? That its citizens became possibly the most unfortunate in the world?

Conventional logic suggested: The culprit is the one who was "our helmsman" all those years. Did that "helmsman" not "steer" the country into a historical impasse from which it is now so difficult to emerge? It seemed obvious—the CPSU must recognize its guilt for all that has happened to the country and the people. It must do that and leave the political arena. But that is what the "restructured" partocracy did not want to do so it chose a different form of "cleansing"—one after another, former party leaders left it. And this is no accident—it is far safer to condemn not a communist system that is rotten to the core, but dictators who left the political arena long ago on the grounds that they distorted the original ideals and values.

To preserve the system the party apparatus was ready to disown anyone at all except the main idol. The myth of his genius, perspicacity, humanity, kindness, simplicity, and common touch was the last thing which somehow saved the greatest deception from exposure: The CPSU never was a political party and thus had absolutely no ideology. Essentially, all its activity was founded on a single Leninist postulate which dates back to 1918, the time of "untroubled" ideals. It runs: "...there is no contradiction in principle between soviet (that is socialist) democracy and the use of the dictatorial power of individuals!" I think it no accident that such a satanic idea was born. Especially if you take into account the subsequent mass shootings, deportations, and concentration camps.

I foresee that these lines will arouse the indignation of communist fundamentalists and ordinary people reduced to a state of shock by communism—both the former and the latter are sure to give a "worthy rebuke to the denigrator and slanderer." Foreseeing this, I want to cite (almost in full, by the way) the contents of a genuine document discovered in the party annals among those marked "top secret"... Thus you have before you an ultraconfidential letter sent 14 December last year by G. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, to V. Ivashko, deputy general secretary and the party's number two.

"...As for documents relating to V.I. Lenin's specific political activity as leader of the state, they include some whose publication would provoke a highly mixed reaction in the present sociopolitical situation...

"For example, there are documents whose content could be interpreted as incitement to violent actions against sovereign states—India, Korea, Afghanistan, Britain, Persia [as published], Turkey, Greece, and so forth (the giving of help in the form of weapons and money to detachments waging the revolutionary struggle in those or other countries: help in the form of weapons to the

Afghan rebels; help to Persian revolutionaries; appropriations for the revolutionary activity in Mongolia; finance, for example 10 million rubles to Finnish Communists, and so forth).

"This includes materials on intelligence measures abroad, on Estonian and Romanian gold, border conflicts with Finland, and others. Individual documents reveal certain covert methods of the work of the Soviet Republic's state organizations (on concentration camps for foreign subjects, organizing the surveillance of foreign delegations visiting the country and campaigns to discredit them, as happened, for example, with a British trade union delegation).

"Lenin's notes appear on materials sent to him presenting the Red Army in an unfavorable light (for example, the participation of First Cavalry subunits in Jewish pogroms, and so forth). A number of documents describe the exploitation of interethnic contradictions (in the Transcaucasus), the attempts to 'sovietize' Lithuania, Hungary, Bohemia, and Romania, combating separatism with firing squads in Karelia, and so forth."

The party academic concludes: "It is inadvisable to publish documents of this type at present." Generally speaking, it is not hard to see why. If they are published it could turn upside down our image not only of Ilich himself but also of the party he created. I am convinced that if we get to the very bottom of the party's dark history we will learn such things as will cause the idea of combating Leninism as a misanthropic doctrine to become firmly rooted in the mass consciousness. A mass ideological cleansing will begin. It will not be painless for everyone, for some it will be simply unbearable. But it must be experienced because we cannot go on bowing down to a man whom we consider our ideological leader when it was he who conceived the following idea (and I quote from genuine archive sources): "...to try to punish Latvia and Estland militarily (for example, 'on the shoulders' of Balakhovich move the border somewhere by a verst, say, and hang 100-1000 of their officials and rich men)..."

"In the guise of 'greens' (we will blame it all on them later) go in 10-20 versts and hang some kulaks, priests, and landowners. The prize: 100,000 rubles for each hanged man..."

However, let us return to the present day: Was it not those commandments that the authors and executors of the August putsch were obeying? Times have changed—the style is the same. And no wonder, because the CPSU, from the day of its foundation, was a party of dual morality. One for external consumption, the other for internal. The essence of the first was reflected on the placards and banners, the second in secret party circulars. One was addressed to the whole people, the other was intended to sustain the party apparatus as it got fat... The dual morality was demonstrated in everything, but surely most of all in the economy.

Second in Series

PM0710184091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 91 p 2

[Second article in series by commentator Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary to the Russian president and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA commentator, "based on top-secret documents": "Land of Commandments: CPSU Short Course in Top-Secret Documents"]

[Text] The CPSU has always been a party of dual morality. The essence of the first morality was reflected on the placards and banners, the second in secret party circulars.

2. The Party's Sole Aim Is...

Since 1985 the party apparatus has waged a desperate struggle against ideas it finds hateful —the market, enterprise, and private ownership. It was prepared to hurl everyone who contemplated living on their own wits and on their own means onto a ritual fire. Business people had a hard time, but maybe it was worst of all for those who showed even the slightest disobedience to the party diktat and loyalty to the new Russian authority. These people were first in line to be "shot down." Gennadiy Filshin, Vladimir Ryashentsev, Artem Tarasov—each of these names is linked to a major scandal, which destroyed possibly a whole plank in the development of independent Russian enterprise. Where are these people now? As the saying goes, here today and gone tomorrow...

So isn't it time to take stock? Because the country has not got very many people left capable of feeding, clothing, and shoeing it. How can we not tear our hair out, seeing that the trickle of revived Russian enterprise, having forced a channel through the sticky clay of militant dogmatism, has headed for the West? Alas, a country of commandments did not need anything. Its subjects are capable of enduring everything: both poverty and charity. True, with one proviso: All this must not affect the anxiously guarded party apparatus, because it is a holy repository of ideals which justify a life of poverty "for everybody."

Ideas or money?—judging from the minutes of closed Central Committee and Politburo sessions, the top party clan tried long and unsuccessfully to resolve this dilemma. Its essence is the two possible ways of preserving the CPSU's leading role. The first required a radical reformation of the party, rejecting the communist perspective which is of little appeal to the vast majority of the population. The second is to preserve the former ideological "wardrobe," laying the main emphasis on the commercialization of all party work. For some time the party apparatus took both paths, but they diverged increasingly, and therefore the main gamble had to be made: In the absence of even a remotely appealing ideology it was decided to hang on to political power, establishing party control at key levels of the market economy.

The program of party penetration of the economy and especially of independent commercial structures has been in the course of development since 1988, but they set about its large-scale implementation sometime around the middle of last year. In August a top-secret document modestly entitled "memorandum" was hatched deep in the heart of the Central Committee apparatus. On 23 August 1990 it fell on V. Ivashko's desk and, having familiarized himself with it, he, I believe, was able to perceive literally the following idea (I quote from the original): "The matter has to be started practically from scratch, and we will have to work in conditions unfamiliar to the party, adapting to the demands of the market and competition. The task of 'learning how to trade' looms large before the party cadres who will be entrusted with these activities. This will require the observance of judicious confidentiality and the utilization in a number of cases of anonymous forms disguising direct links with the CPSU. The ultimate aim will obviously be, along with the 'commercialization' of existing party property, to systematically set up structures of an 'invisible' party economy with which a very narrow circle of people will be allowed to work, to be determined by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary or his deputy."

The task was set. And in order to speed things up, the future of the party apparatus was directly linked with its possible successes in the field of commercialization. At the beginning of September last year the Central Committee Secretariat adopted a secret resolution which said, in particular: "In order to preserve essential party structures... measures must be taken toward the implementation of specific projects on the additional attraction of resources into the budget from entrepreneurial and commercial activities..."

And the work was in full swing. Within a short time commercial banks were set up with CPSU participation, one of whose tasks was to launder party money. By the end of last year the party, as a cofounder, already controlled three fairly large banks: Moscow's "Glavmosstroybank," St. Petersburg's "Rossiya" bank, and Alma-Ata's "Kompartbank." And it was reported from below that the organization's deposit resources had been put into such and such an oblast, kray, or republic commercial bank... In under two years several hundred joint-stock enterprises were set up entirely or partly with CPSU resources (note—this is at the same time as commercial structures unconnected with the party were subjected to the severest pressure from it!). In February 1991 the Russian Communist Party leadership, evidently sensing the growing discontent among the republic's rank and file Communists, requested 1.5 billion rubles [R] for these purposes from the CPSU insurance fund. Not a bad turnover for a political organization!

And yet the indisputable leader of party commerce is Moscow Gorkom [city party committee]. Its investments in the city's economy (moreover, in the spheres where it is easiest to make a profit) have snowballed. A cultural center on Bolshaya Polyanka, the "Vizit" joint enterprise, the "Lingvest" small enterprise—there is a considerable proportion of party money in these and many like them. It was invested so that it would double and triple and thereby ensure the party structures' viability. Come what may... But the apotheosis of Yu. Prokofyev's commercial projects was the setting up, together with the obkom [oblast party committee], of a "limited joint-stock commercial company in which the CPSU will have a 65-percent shareholding and will effectively determine the organization's policy." For these purposes, as incorporation capital, Moscow buildings worth around R120 million were demanded from [CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs] N. Kruchina. On what grounds was the need for all these expenditures justified? The interests of the people, whose service is allegedly the CPSU's sole aim? Far from it. Here is the argument that Prokofyev put to Ivashko: "It is all the more pressing, now that the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law 'On Ownership in the RSFSR' comes into effect 1 July this year, which effectively prohibits social organizations from engaging in production and commercial activities and which proposes the alienation of property not being utilized in accordance with statutory tasks. Moscow City Soviet is also actively carrying out work on the possible nationalization of party property." The deputy general secretary was satisfied with the arguments and on 9 August signed a top secret resolution on transferring buildings allegedly belonging to the CPSU to the limited joint-stock company's balance.

The matter progressed, but slowly, it seemed to the leadership! And too overtly. And therefore directives flew out to the provinces: "...to prepare proposals on setting up some kind of new 'intermediate' economic structures (funds, associations, and so forth), which could become the centers for forming an 'invisible' party economy while having minimal 'visible' ties to the CPSU Central Committee." But how could this be done? There is only one solution: to set up fewer by ourselves and invest more in existing structures. The party coffers were flung wide open to businessmen. There was only one condition: not to forget the interests of the CPSU and its apparatus. And its interests, as we know, are diverse—both big and small. Like those that the Russian Communist Party Central Committee Administration of Affairs pursued, offering a half-million interest-free loan to the "Luch" trading and industrial association: "Every week for three years the association will provide food products to 400 staffers of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, which includes deliveries from the 'Mongrifles' joint enterprise, and it will also provide industrial goods once every three months to 400 staffers of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee administration and apparatus, including goods supplied for trading for rubles by the 'Mongrifles' joint enterprise."

Stashing party money away in reliable commercial structures and then living off the interest from the profits—this is one of the priority tasks of the last Leninist central

committee. The CPSU was increasingly starting to look like a political moneylender... And yet it was not this that was its main concern. Keeping its property—that is the question that was voiced no less tragically than Hamlet's "to be or not to be," because perhaps everything depended on the answer to it.

The communist partocracy's hypocrisy was manifest in the property question as in no other. It had something to lose and to worry about. The CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs alone had at its disposal over 60 major facilities worth a total of around R1.3 billion! And how much else belonged to those a step lower—obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms [rayon party committees]...? Could a political organization acquire property in such gigantic proportions by legal means, just through membership dues? Never! And therefore the demand for its nationalization had every legal justification. But the army-militia counterargument of "don't you dare!" invariably followed in response to the "claims."

In defending its ownership rights, the party apparatus tried not to mention one rather important fact: A dictator never pays for anything. He has only one "legal" justification—"hand it over!" This is precisely how, by the law of the strong, the party has in its time acquired: five Central Committee administrative buildings in central Moscow, the buildings of the Contemporary Social Problems Institute and the Theory and History of Socialism Institute, the V.I. Lenin Central Museum building; the "Rossiya," "Foros," "Nalchik," and "Marino" sanatoriums and the sanatoriums named for the 10th Anniversary of October, Lenin, Frunze, and the 17th Party Congress; the "Krasnoye Znamya," "Zelenaya Roshcha," and "Solnechniy" rest homes; the premises of the "Oktyabrskaya" hotel in Moscow, of the PRAVDA, "Politizdat," and "Panorama" publishing houses, and of the "Krasnyy Proletariy" printing works; and much else besides. The party did not pay a single cent for all this. And this is only what is connected with the highest organ—the Central Committee. But if you counted the plunder taken by lower-level committees?

The CPSU's prosperity is built on the bones of the common people. Did the party leaders grasp this deplorable fact? I think so. But what were they to do? Repent? The very thought of repenting caused animal terror. A different tactic is much closer to the apparatus nature: To surreptitiously conceal what it has plundered from others people's granaries. Something borrowed, something leased, something mortgaged. Hard times are ahead for the party; people will demand: "Give it back!" The party functionaries, who have become skilled in caring for the people's welfare, will then throw up their hands and with noble indignation they will sonorously reply: "What do you mean, people! We haven't got anything... And we never had anything."

Third in Series

PM0710130591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 2

[Third article in series by observer Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary to the Russian president and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA commentator, "based on top-secret documents": "Land of Behests: CPSU Short Course in Top-Secret Documents"]

[Text]

3. Firms of the CPSU's Friends

Recently the party propaganda workers (particularly those serving the Russian branch of the CPSU) have been frequently amusing themselves with talk of the plundering and selling off of the country and its wealth. Naturally it was the "so-called democrats" who were accused of this. Everything was known about them: whom they met with and when, what they talked about, what they signed and on what terms, what goods they imported and what they exported. Should we be surprised—the KGB, the foreign economic ministry, and the customs and border services always fulfilled party orders at the first demand.

The holy of holies in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus consisted of the subdivisions connected with the party's international and foreign economic activity. Here everything was either secret or top secret. At one point the Administration of Affairs bought overseas a miracle of bureaucratic thinking—paper shredders. They can pulverize any circular in seconds to observe secrecy and avoid satisfying the enemy. And here is what is curious: When after the putsch the safety of documents and archives was being checked in the Central Committee's sealed premises, it turned out that there was an almost complete cleanliness in the subdivisions connected with the party's foreign interests. On the other hand the shredders were filled to overflowing.

Nonetheless many pieces of documentary evidence were preserved regarding the CPSU's activity abroad which in the past year or two had become almost like something out of a thriller (if we are not to put it more harshly and say it had become criminal). For instance, here is a document with personal instructions signed by V. Ivashko, deputy general secretary: "I ask you to examine several ideas ("born" in the Central Committee international department) on a question of very great importance for us all in the future. What had the department headed by V. Falin "thought up?" From the viewpoint of political morality there is much that is curious in the document but one idea is nonetheless particularly "good."

"...embark immediately on the preparation of proposals for the use of anonymous forms concealing direct association with the CPSU and for the development of the party's commercial and foreign economic activity. Examine in particular the question of the possibilities for

association, through participation in capital, to joint ventures, international consortiums, and so forth already in operation."

The task is to gather together fragments of information to compile a full picture of the party's foreign commerce. But it may already be asserted that the task mentioned in the document cited above was virtually fulfilled. In one year the CPSU's commercial metastases had penetrated many countries. They are anonymous, concealed under the signs of front firms, which often have absolutely nothing to do with the USSR. How many of them are there? It is hard to say, but we can still try to name a few addresses. How? By logic. Above all we must ascertain which of the staffers of the Administration of Affairs or the international department left the Central Committee this summer without visible grounds for doing so. Then we must pick out those who are now outside the USSR. And finally we must specify the countries where they are staying and the firms in which they are working... The required answer has been obtained.

How did the party succeed in penetrating the Western market so swiftly and imperceptibly? Thanks to old links. The point is that in virtually every country there are political organizations which have regularly received money from the party (although it must be stipulated not only money). Their leaders studied, vacationed, and received medical treatment in the USSR and went on business trips there or did these things with money received from the USSR. "Progressive mankind" was an expensive item for the party coffers.

Foreign parties realized far earlier than their Moscow colleagues that with the aid of communist ideas (of a highly dubious nature, moreover) they could not keep themselves on the political horizon. Money, property, and influence in the business world are far more reliable. That is why the Western communist parties already began a few years ago to actively create their own commercial structures whose aim was profit, in particular leading to the swelling of the party coffers and the maintenance of the party apparatuses' activity. But here is the problem: How to ensure their competitiveness? After all, the Western market lives only by the interests of consumers and in no way of political hangers-on. The party traders' gaze again turned to "the progressive detachment of the international communist and workers movement."

The concept of firms of friends existed in the CPSU Central Committee. It is not hard to guess what this meant. There are many of these firms (just one list included about 60 although I think it is far from complete), but they all felt confident on the Soviet market. Nor could it be otherwise—with such a patron! Just a telephone call from Staraya Ploshchad [square in Moscow where Central Committee headquarters were situated] and you had no problems—any deal would take place. Even despite the dubious quality of the goods on offer and their immoderately high price. Even if no one here had any need for them—they would still take it. It was not a case of an ordinary partner but of a friend of the CPSU! And everything can be sacrificed for the sake of the CPSU and its friends. Even the interests of your own economy... Foreign party traders well understood who in this country had real power and which levers had to be pressed to resolve any question in their favor. And that is why there flew to the CPSU, one after the other, letters like the following, received in June this year from the CPSU's Greek friends:

"Our party's commercial activity is represented by the 'VEK' Ltd firm, which for seven years now has had an office in Moscow's International Trade Center... Our request consists of assistance in obtaining a license for the functioning of a supermarket trading in hard currency, which would be the start for broader cooperation in this field... We would like to take this opportunity to express our readiness to cooperate in the field of trade with the CPSU Central Committee department responsible for this... We would like to express cordial thanks for the aid from your party, which has enabled our Moscow representative to become the main source of revenue for our party."

As is well known, perestroyka, deadlocked thanks to the wise leadership of the CPSU, turned the Soviet Union into one of the world's biggest debtors. The country's currency resources have now been squandered and the debts to foreign firms are snowballing. With every passing day it is becoming more feasible that the USSR will be declared a bankrupt state... And how did the ruling party act in this tragic situation? Was it guided by general state interests, the interests of the all-union market? Not at all. Here too narrow party considerations took precedence over all others. As proof I shall cite a brief extract from a confidential report sent in February this year to the party leadership by two leaders of the Central Committee apparatus: by V. Falin, chief of the international department, and V. Vlasov, chief of the socioeconomic policy department. What does it talk about? I shall cite verbatim:

"The need for the urgent solution of questions with regard to the firms of friends is determined by the fact that their deteriorating financial situation and the threat of bankruptcy are disrupting the mechanism for financing the friendly parties themselves and creating a real threat to their further existence.

"... If we now wreck the fulfillment of our financial committments to the firms of friends, the CPSU will come up against the need to seek our resources for supporting the friendly parties from the party budget."

But they obviously spared the party budget and decided to squander the state budget. After V. Ivashko's resolution "...to take measures to rectify the situation" Union Vice Premier S. Sitaryan gave instructions to the country's foreign economic bank "to let through out of turn" payments for debts to small firms linked with the CPSU.

With regard to the "fraternal parties," the CPSU was often guided by the mentality of a rich landowner: For

people to love you, you have to pay well. And it did pay. It paid generously—its foreign fellow fighters were never refused anything... You only have to take newsprint. Perhaps we have never had a more acute shortage. Everyone was asking for it—new publications and old publications dreaming of increasing volumes and print runs. And everyone was refused, there was none for anyone. But everyone who has dealings with publishing was sure that there was still paper in the country. But where was it? Here is one place—the CPSU, the "special (I shall not be wrong if I say secret) stock of paper for rendering assistance to the fraternal parties." Some recipients of deliveries even last year can be cited—they are parties close to the CPSU in Austria, Morocco, Uruguay, Panama, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Argentina, Burkina Faso, and Portugal. In all in 1990 about 13,000 tonnes of first-class newsprint were diverted from this stock for the needs of foreign parties.

Throughout the world policy is made with the aid of newspapers. The CPSU made it with the aid of newsprint. Just one example. In June last year in a secret report R. Fedorov, deputy chief of the international department, notified the Central Committee Secretariat of the following: "A catastrophic situation has formed for the Czechoslovak Communist Party with regard to paper. The party newspaper RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA are being published in a smaller form and are being distributed only to some subscribers. Now, on the eve of the elections, because of the total lack of paper they may stop printing altogether." And how did the top party leadership react to this? It ordered that the Czechoslovak Communists immediately be allocated 400 tonnes of newsprint. As long as they could provide fitting opposition at the elections to the anticommunist forces seeking power...

The CPSU's international policy is a special subject. I should not like to touch on it only in passing. And nonetheless I cannot fail to note that here too the party embroidery is not without knots. For instance, how to explain the fact that as of March this year none of the CPSU leaders has confirmed or denied the following statement by the general prosecutor of Czechoslovakia (its text, incidentally, was found after the putsch on the desk of a Central Committee secretary):

"Every year on instructions from Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary V. Bilak $500,000 in cash was transferred to Moscow. We do not know what it was used for specifically. In Moscow it was said that it went into some fund to help other parties, creastd in the CPSU Central Committee. The charges assert that all socialist countries were liable to this 'quit-rent.' One piquant element is that the bank had to prepare the money in small-denomination bank notes—of $5 and $10. They were stuffed into suitcases and then dispatched free of customs duty by air to Moscow."

What is the thrust of these currency machinations? It is hard to say, because so far there is much that is unclear in this affair, as there is in many others. I think that specialists are faced with months of work with the documents and archives before all the answers are found. But here is a question: Will they succeed in preserving everything, in getting to everything? There can be no doubt that the CPSU leadership has absolutely no interest in this. In that sense it in no way differs from its counterpart, the leader of the former GDR (who, it is true, now operates under a different flag), G. Gysi, who, as is clear from a top-secret report of the Central Committee international department, demanded the following of the CPSU leadership:

"According to Gysi, the publication of documents from the archives would be a 'real catastrophe.' The chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party is urgently asking the Soviet leadership 'while there is still time' to influence Chancellor Kohl and to seek from him either the lifting of the sequestration of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany archives, that is their return to their lawful owner—the Democratic Socialist Party—or, if the chancellor does not consider that possible, then the destruction of the archives."

...The fact that the CPSU never had an ideology is a half-victory. The real misfortune is that for a little over 70 years the country was ruled by a party without morals. And in that sense perestroyka did not improve the situation. Perhaps it even aggravated it. All attempts by the top party leadership to fill the vacuum with at least something were doomed to failure. Only immoral thinkers were prepared to cooperate with an immoral system...

Russia 'Irreversibly Becoming a Factor of Disunity'

PM0710114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Tsipko: "Drama of Russian Choice"]

[Text] The Russian is indeed true to nature. When he has something he does not look after it; having lost it, he weeps. The Ukrainians and then the Kazakhs and Belorussians had only to start talking in earnest about their full state independence, and the faces of our Russian champions of sovereignty somehow fell.

"But is there any hope of preserving the Union?" Russian voters ask, quite saddened and frightened at the prospect of being left without their customary Crimea and their customary Odessa, frightened at the prospect of sharing their meager ration of bread with hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees.

Ukrainian legislators took just one day to learn the word "jurisdiction," which is so beloved of Boris Nikolayevich, and to transfer to their ownership the legacy inherited from the defunct Union. So sovereignty it was. And in Russia, once again, shock, indignation, and even threats. And, of course, total confusion was caused in sovereign Russia by the statement by Kravchuk and Nazarbayev that they too need a nuclear umbrella.

No one in Russia had expected the republic leaders to act so quickly. It had seemed to them as something that goes without saying: "What is mine is mine, and what is yours must also be mine."

Thousands and millions of Russian voters, drawn into the struggle for the sovereignty of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and dreaming of their own president, as it is now becoming clear, had never given any serious thought to the immediate consequences of the policy that they supported. They did not realize that the idea of RSFSR sovereignty would inevitably split the state's historical nucleus and inevitably push both the Ukraine and Belorussia, not to mention Kazakhstan, toward secession from the sovereign RSFSR.

They were motivated by the desire to punish Gorbachev and the despised communist center as quickly as possible and to support Yeltsin in every possible way. They did not care about anything else. Many people still hope that it is possible both to acquire Russia's sovereignty and to preserve some kind of Union.

This unique political unsoundness of mind of the common voter and his enthusiasm for masochistic slogans of self-destruction frighten me more than anything. I understand and support the Balts, who have begun their struggle for sovereignty. But what good did it do millions of Russians to seek independence from Moscow and to destroy their state? Take into account here that the idea of RSFSR sovereignty, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Russian Communist Party emerged from the very depths of the **Russian** consciousness.

The impression is created that the ideologues of the movement for a sovereign Russia also did not give very much thought to the consequences of their policy. They played magnificently on masochistic passions. But now, so it seems to me, the victors do not have very much idea of what to do with their sovereign Russia free from the center. For a very long time the democrats lived the illusion that, having finally gained possession of Moscow, Leningrad, and the center of Russia, they would succeed in creating their own Union of Sovereign Republics, this time a democratic one, and that the beneficial influence of their democratic policy would spread right to the most outlying districts.

It would have been all right if we had all become wise at least after the event. But this has not happened. Despite the crumbling of the state which has begun. Again everyone is hoping for a miracle, that someone will come and find a salutary solution. Very few people realize how far the process of the state's self-disintegration has gone in the past month. No one wants to know the truth. No one wants to "waive principles." [reference to Nina Andrevyeva catch phrase]

Observing Yeltsin's actions in the past month, I found myself thinking that not even the president of Russia, to all appearances, knows what to do with his victory. Out of inertia Yeltsin is continuing to struggle against a center which no longer exists and is continuing to erect barricades, defending himself against a dead, nonexistent opponent.

No Russian guard is needed when there is a Russian militia and army. All these are songs from another epoch, from another life. It no longer makes sense to try to prove something to Gorbachev or to accuse the center of being unable to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in the space of four years. Now he must pursue his own policy himself. The impression is created that it in his heart of hearts, Yeltsin would feel much more at ease if the center were to rise again from the ashes. Then he would know how to conduct his life and what to say.

It is understandable why Gorbachev cannot overcome the illusions of the past. The hope of the possibility of a renewed Union and of a second Novo-Ogarevo is preserving his political life and, maybe, even more. And, considering the spiritual state of society, this stoic, bold faith of Gorbachev that everything can be begun again is justified. With his whole political existence Gorbachev ensures the gradual nature of the disintegration and maintains the illusion of stability, which is so essential to people when nobody knows what to do next or what the next step will be.

But I cannot understand why Yeltsin fears the truth or why he cannot rid himself of the ideology of a vanished age. Surely it is clear that the struggle which has begun for a strong, centralized Russia, the struggle for ownership and power in Moscow, cannot be combined with the former hopes of preserving the Union, in which, to use Yeltsin's words, Russia will be "neither an elder nor a younger brother."

It is impossible to create an independent sovereign state from a union of sovereign states. This makes no sense at all. No less illusory is "Democratic Russia's" idea of recreating something like the "Common Market," the EC, in the place of the former Union. The idea of the speediest disintegration of the "empire," for which this movement's ideologues were campaigning, was incompatible right from the start with their own idea of a future union of democratic Soviet states. The present spontaneous collapse of the Union is dangerous in that it leads to the conservation of authoritarian communist regimes over a considerable part of the USSR's territory. The recent events in Tajikistan have confirmed this once again. Only while preserving a civilized and integral Union was it possible to ensure the democratization of Central Asia.

Nobody needs a Union without all-Union ownership, without respect for its president and constitution on the part of Union establishments, without a common Union army. The Union could only exist for as long as Russia existed as a unifying principle. But Russia, which has detached itself from the bowels of the Union, is already irreversibly becoming a factor of disunity. And this is natural. An equitable political or military union between tiny Moldova and the giant RSFSR, for example, is

impossible in principle. Therefore it is natural, for example, that as soon as Moldova becomes an independent state, it will prefer union with Romania to union with Russia.

Quite honestly, you cannot envy Boris Nikolayevich. The age of Yeltsin the fighter and destroyer has been left in the past. The time of Yeltsin the creator has arrived. Is he ready for this role? Having proved to Gorbachev and himself that precisely he is a great president and having destroyed the remains of the communist center during a few days in August, he has shouldered a terrible, very great responsibility.

The time has come to make the most important, last choice. Either, underpinned by his victory, to go to all the way, turning the RSFSR into a new independent state with all the ensuing internal and external consequences, or, in the name of preserving the hopes of a Union, to sacrifice his victory and renounce his power over the center, over his former property. This is a dramatic choice, for neither of the possible solutions promises Boris Nikolayevich personally anything good.

This is a dramatic choice, for it is difficult, almost impossible, to foresee the possible consequences of each of these two solutions. There are many impasses on each of the two possible roads.

The logic of history and, of course, the logic of events is pushing the Russian leadership to finally register its victory without delay and to restore on the territory of the RSFSR the state destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Of course, such a decision to restore Russian statehood will be positively welcomed by the patriotically-minded intelligentsia and will promote the growth of Russian national awareness. Not one of the postcommunist countries has managed to dispense with the idea of the revival of a national state. The first of the possible solutions can help to find the way out of the ideological impasse and, at the first stage, stimulate patriotic enthusiasm. But!

In this case Yeltsin and the Russian Government will have to assume all responsibility for the destroyed Russian economy and for the well-being of millions of indigent, unfortunate people. As soon as the country and its historical center break up, not only millions of refugees but also billions of empty rubles will flood onto the RSFSR's territory. Yeltsin will have to assume responsibility for the consequences of the present bandit-like privatization or launch an active struggle against it. He will have to assume responsibility for the fate of the millions of Russians who, not of their own will, have ended up outside their own national state, outside the new Russia. On top of everything there is the inevitable explosion of separatism on RSFSR territory.

The breakup of the USSR in terms of its present internal borders is leading not only to the demise of the Soviet empire but also to the breakup of the state's historical nucleus. Many territories settled by Russians over the centuries have now ended up outside the new Russian state. It is not hard to foresee how this new political reality will affect the sentiments of the Russian population. But this is not the most terrible thing. As the experience of 1918 showed, the breakup of the state's historical nucleus has its own inertia, its own logic. The Ukraine or Belorussia will not have time to finally detach themselves from the RSFSR before we witness the conception of many new sovereign Russian states. In fact, we have already witnessed this. Gavriil's Moscow has already achieved full independence. The time has come for the rebirth of the Far East Republic and the Kuban Republic. God only knows how the festival of freedom and democracy, which has begun, will end for the Russians. Given such a development of events, the fate of Gorbachev, or the fate of the British queen who rules over nothing, also awaits Yeltsin.

The RSFSR is not a mother country, as island Britain, for example, was in the British Empire. The RSFSR is the heart of the Russian empire, the place where its most overt imperial conquests are concentrated. Therefore, however many decrees on the state independence of the former Soviet republics the RSFSR Government may issue, it will never be rid of its imperial primogeniture. The most overt manifestation of Russia's imperial policy was the subjugation of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Therefore, remaining within the bounds of common sense, it is hard to prove to the Ossetians or Chechens that they have fewer rights to an independent mountain state than the Moldovans, who themselves came to Russia when fleeing from the Turks.

And the final point. Under conditions of internal and external self-disintegration there is very little chance of turning the RSFSR into a truly democratic state. It is not hard to foresee that under conditions of continuing self-disintegration the pendulum of public sentiment will very soon swing the other way, and this time the democrats themselves will find themselves in the firing line.

The tragedy of our whole situation, of all 20th century Russian history, consists in the fact that the second option for the development of events, geared to saving the state's historical nucleus and ensuring the chief, more profound development of the democratic process, is hard to implement essentially because of a trifle—because of the political ambitions of the republic leaders who have bobbed to the surface of political life on the wave of the parade of sovereignties. The tragedy of our country, its peoples, and the incipient democracy consists in the fact that in the situation which has taken shape political leadership could be achieved only with appeals for destruction and, above all, for the destruction of one's own state. In one case these "perestroyka" rules of the political game promoted national interests. This policy was a great help to the Balts. But the Russians have only lost out in this game of destroying the center.

All that has happened in the past month has in no way stemmed from the objective interests of the RSFSR's inhabitants. The overwhelming majority of them voted for the preservation of the Union. Do not believe that

the Belorussians, the East Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian republics wanted to secede from Russia. The well-being and spiritual comfort of millions of our country's citizens have been sacrificed to the political game of several dozen Moscow intellectuals who determine Russian policy.

All that we have observed in the past month since the failure of the putsch has happened against the people's will. Yeltsin has destroyed the tottering center. Nazarbayev has declared Kazakhstan's state independence and indivisibility against the will of a considerable, if not overwhelming, part of the republic's population. The overwhelming section of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies, particularly Communists, did not have a mandate to vote for the Ukraine's secession from Russia, for at the time of the referendum in the Ukraine 70 percent of the population voted to preserve the Union.

There was nothing democratic in either substance or form in the breakup which has occurred in the state's historical nucleus.

And neither Ukrainian, nor Belorussian, nor Kazakh, nor Azerbaijani deputies must be accused of anything. After Yeltsin, carried away by victory and yielding to the inertia of the struggle against the Kremlin, proclaimed control over the center and its property and destroyed everything that was a symbol of the state in the consciousness of the republics, the only way for other peoples to save their national dignity was to declare full state independence. Otherwise both the Ukrainians and the Kazakhs had to agree that they are second-class peoples and that they are not permitted what the Great Russians are permitted. It is understandable that no people would consent to such self-disparagement.

In order to save the state's historical nucleus in this emotional situation, the Russians and their leaders must, above all, curb their arrogance and retreat to the former republic positions. Particularly as Nazarbayev—tribute must be paid to his wisdom—has already set such an example. It is necessary to reach agreement with the republics without delay on reforming the national guards, on the joint defense of Union property, and on restoring the unity of the Armed Forces.

There are no guarantees that all these steps of reconciliation can change the course of events and save the remains of the Union. But without Yeltsin's "retreat" there is no chance of preserving the Union at all. After all, Russia will not suffer because of such steps. After the final divorce from the republics, if it is irreversible, there will be time to revive the Russian guard and everything that our heart desires.

But the White House leadership must do something before the Ukraine votes for secession from Russia. Why not hold a serious state conference on the situation which has taken shape in the country and on its destiny? Maybe there is still a chance? Maybe it is also worth reaching agreement on the recreation of a genuine Slavic-Turkic federation which would be a state of Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Kazakhs, and all Turkic peoples in equal measure and with equal rights. Does the fratricidal war in Yugoslavia really teach our republic politicians nothing? For in that country too it all started with the creation of republic guards! No one now will try to pass off as his own Yeltsin's personal services in liberating Russia from communism. But why reject the last opportunity to save our state and to oppose a total breakup, whose consequences none of us knows?

Of course, it is hard to give advice to leaders, particularly to victors. The only thing that we can confidently advise Yeltsin to do in this dramatic situation is not to do something that must on no account be done.

Probably, on no account must he retreat from his own principle, which he proclaimed, of sovereignty and full state independence for the Soviet republics, thanks to which he gained recognition and popularity.

The republics have the right not to make use of this democratic opportunity accorded them by the Russian democrats, they have the right to live in the Union together with other peoples. After all, no one—neither God, nor history, nor the values of democracy—has the right to make peoples who have lived together for centuries split up. The democratic coercion of the Moscow dividers is in no way more noble than the coercion of imperialists. But now, after everything that has already happened, no one has the right to compel these peoples by force to live in the Union.

Russian politicians and their advisers must understand that, by proclaiming the sovereignty of the RSFSR as an integral state formation, they thereby themselves recognized the legitimacy of all other interrepublic borders. If the RSFSR is sacred and indivisible, then why should not the Ukraine be sacred and indivisible? If you assume the responsibility of recreating Russia within the Bolshevist borders, then why do the Ukraine and Kazakhstan not have the right to these same Bolshevist borders?

In this case it is no longer a question of the moral authority of Yeltsin as a politician but of the moral and political authority of the millions of Russian voters who elected him president. In any situation, however far the self-disintegration goes, the Russians, all of us, must emerge clean from this game and not take upon ourselves the sin of users of force and deception. The democrats, who in recent weeks have recalled the Leninist art of changing slogans, must understand that they are drawing millions of Russian voters into a grave political crime. Democratic imperialism is in no way any better than either czarist or Russian imperialism.

And, finally, the most important, last point. The Russian leadership and the RSFSR president must not take on a burden that is beyond them or assume very great responsibility for the people themselves, for all of us citizens of the RSFSR. After all, neither Yeltsin nor the Russian deputies have a mandate for the self-disbandment of the old, great Russia. The only way out in the present situation is to hold a referendum on the RSFSR's further

destiny as soon as possible. We must ascertain what the Russians seek under these conditions. Either they seek the final legalization of the RSFSR as an autonomous, independent state, or the Russian population authorizes its leadership to do everything possible for the signing of the Union Treaty. At the same time it is necessary to hold without delay a Constituent Congress of the Peoples of Russia and there resolve the question of the nature of the new state and the rights of all the peoples. On no account can the RSFSR become a national state, as Poland and the Baltic republics have become.

This referendum can be the first step toward overcoming the political unsoundness of mind of a considerable section of voters, which harbors a threat of new and still graver trials. It is no longer the question of the Union or the USSR that is being decided but the fate of the Russian people. If in this critical situation they do not find within themselves the courage of thought and the courage of common sense, then they have simply vanished and evaporated in an ecstacy of self-destruction.

Liberal Democratic Party Chairman Interviewed

PM0710111791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with V.V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, of the Soviet Union, by A. Orlov under the rubric "Parties, Movements"; place of interview not given; on 27 September; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction: ""I Am in Favor of an Authoritarian Regime..."]

[Text] The conference of the Moscow regional organization of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union took place 28 September at the kolkhoz named for V.I. Lenin outside Moscow. We met with Party Chairman V.V. Zhirinovskiy the previous day.

[Orlov] Vladimir Volfovich, the present leadership crisis both at the Union level and to a certain degree also at the Russian level is making many people talk about a third force. There are frequent statements that this will be the most reactionary force. Such statements are also associated with your party...

[Zhirinovskiy] I personally would not want dark forces to come to power. I would like the third force, if it is destined to emerge, to make patriotism its platform. The most important thing today is to preserve our state and its territory, on which all peoples, irrespective of their nationality, language, and faith, could live in peace and develop. We are ready to assume the role of such a third power. And there is no need to frighten people by saying that the third force will definitely be a reactionary one, will bring back Stalinism or revive the Brezhnevite model...

A leadership crisis really does exist. The August events exacerbated it. Today many republics are flowing with blood. Attempts at peacemaking are not bringing results. There is a "sugar revolt" in Orenburg. In Tver you are rationed to 300 grams of bread. There is also strict rationing in Moscow. And what will be happening by spring? You can, of course, say that there will be no famine. You can guarantee a minimum supply. But we expected a normal life.

The new democratic forces have unfortunately been unable to guarantee this normal life. Because there has again been incompetence at all levels. For example, a physicist is becoming Moscow militia chief. But what is the use of a physicist here when even the "pros" cannot manage? There is only one criterion—to be personally devoted...

[Orlov] What is your program in this connection?

[Zhirinovskiy] We must rely on professionals. And second, I say expressly today: You cannot give political democracy free range. It is necessary to suspend the activities of all parties today. And to give them equal starting conditions in a few years' time, when the economic reform will have moved forward. It is necessary to throw all our efforts into the economy today. Take the CEMA building. New bureaucrats are already taking it over. But the building should be handed over to our businessmen! Wherever you look there is a new clan of bureaucrats growing and multiplying. Whereas a rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] chairman used to receive 400 rubles [R], they are now arranging salaries of R1,500-2,000 for themselves. Along with the same rations and the same privileged services. There has been a change of teams, not a second Russian revolution, as it has been blasphemously termed.

[Orlov] Your party proclaims the parliamentary method of struggle. But you talk of authoritarian power. Society regards such a form of power extremely negatively...

[Zhirinovskiy] I am first and foremost talking about temporary authoritarian power. And I am in favor of arriving at it by parliamentary means. And if you speak frankly to voters about this need, they will understand. Up till now we have voted not for programs but for personalities. If Popov in his time had said he would break up the soviets and had received support on this basis, Moscow would be calm today. But he did not say this. Once they come to power, they do everything their own way.

So we need elections of a USSR president who would set out in full a program for the coming year or two. If the voters vote for it, they will facilitate its implementation, and not oppose it. What kind of authoritarian regime do I have in mind? We need not a dictator and repression but trust and understanding.

[Orlov] Could you tell us among which sections of society your party and program enjoy the greatest popularity?

[Zhirinovskiy] From the moment of our formation, we relied on the classic liberal democratic formula and

gambled on figures in culture, science, and the intelligentsia. We have now made adjustments. Now more and more ordinary, simple people and working people are joining us. I think this is because the CPSU is virtually banned, and for the past few years it has no longer been representing poor people's interests. A section of the business community also supports us. Young people are also active. Of the 6 million people who voted for Zhirinovskiy for Russian president, sociologists consider that 5 million were young people.

[Orlov] The country is at present going through difficult times. And we are all trying to look into the future. What is your forecast for the next year or the next five years?..

[Zhirinovskiy] It is unnecessary to make a forecast for the next five years. We need to make one for the next 8-10 months. And the prognosis is disquieting here. Maybe we will have a Yugoslav or Georgian scenario here; take your pick. All of this is already going on here partially. A further deterioration of the economy, a fall in the standard of living, sabotage, blockades, terrorist acts, and subversion lie ahead.

[Orlov] And how do you think we can stop this?

[Zhirinovskiy] Either we elect a new president, or we will get our very own Pinochet coming to power. These are the alternatives...

[Orlov] One last question. Have we not got a situation whereby Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is at the moment in a very advantageous position? He has not been in power whereas all the others to one degree or another have experienced this. So he can now afford to be "up to the mark." Do these circumstances not embarrass you?

[Zhirinovskiy] Well, what can you do? But you see I really have not been mixed up in anything and have not made any mistakes. And now all that is happening is happening without our participation. We are ready for dialogue, to help in whatever way we can with reforms for the good of the people, but it looks like the powers that be do not want this. In short, we are an opposition party and cannot take responsibility for what is happening.

TASS Carries Press Review for 8 Oct

LD0810075391 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 8 Oct 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—Today's newspapers run President Mikhail Gorbachev's televised statement in which he announced the Soviet Union's steps and proposals in response to U.S. President Bush's latest disarmament initiatives.

PRAVDA carries comments on the Soviet president's proposals under the headline "the USSR-USA: The Price of Disarmament". In this connection the newspaper's analyst Yevgeniy Shishkov points out that in the disarmament process one should follow the Russian saying "score twice before you cut once".

He asks the question why the Soviet Union has not told the West even once that the scope of Soviet disarmament initiatives and their incredible price for the Soviet economy implies quite specific and, moreover, huge Western aid in converting whole sectors of the country's already ailing economy. Such aid would be a tangible contribution to the work for stronger universal peace.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports that the public association "in defence of the Communists' rights" has called on all those who sympathise with the struggle for the constitutional rights and freedoms of the Communists and like-minded people to give financial support to the association.

The newspaper points to a new turn of events in Tatarstan. The formation of a volunteer corps, the main purpose of which is to uphold the republic's sovereignty, has begun in that autonomous republic.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) reports the development of events in Tajikistan where confrontation between the authorities and the opposition continues.

As a result of talks held between the authorities and the opposition with the mediation of Anatoliy Sobchak and Yevgeniy Velikhov, members of the Political Consultative Council to the president of the USSR, the two sides reached an accord which became the basis for measures aimed at democratising social life in the republic, the newspaper points out.

Sobchak told the NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA (Independent Gazette) that Tajikistan is experiencing a serious political crisis brought on by a desire to mothball communist structures that still remain intact in the republic.

PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and other newspapers run the Soviet president's address to the leadership of Yugoslavia. PRAVDA describes the address as an "appeal to reason".

The Independent Gazette maintains that the "Soviet Union has averted a Yugoslav army offensive in Croatia". President Gorbachev's call for immediate cessation of the escalation of hostilities has played its role, the newspaper points out.

The Belorussian parliament has made a resolute step by recognising the right to private ownership of land, PRAVDA writes. The newspaper's correspondent in the republic, O. Stepanenko, believes that the law on the right to private ownership of land lacks not only an economic basis. "It cannot be substantiated either by historical or political arguments from the country's life either. This is why this law will not 'work,'" the correspondent maintains.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA continues the publication of chapters from Lev Kolodny's book entitled "Who Wrote 'And Quiet Flows The Don.'"

The author relates how Mikhail Sholokhov wrote his famous novel. On the strength of the novel's manuscript found by him, Kolodny exposes allegations about the plagiarism of the novel.

Vladimir Varov, Russia's people's deputy and chairman of the Russian parliament subcommittee for legal support for political reform, reflects in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on whether there are real prerequisites for a new coup in the country.

He believes that a socio-political basis for a possible coup does exist in the country. Varov suggests taking a number of measures to avert a new putsch.

Yevgeniy Sorokin, in an article in PRAVDA, writes about ways for the development of the political process in Russia. The signs of a split have appeared in the camp of the Russian Democrats, he observes.

"The point is that Russia's power structures are politicised to the utmost, beginning from the parliament and down to ministries. A road to a market economy is quite often viewed not as an economic objective but as the possibility to overthrow yet another 'enemy'. The democrats are in need of opposition even if from among... Democrats," Sorokin points out.

There is a new rubric in PRAVDA, "a close-up view" to include articles about those who are now at the helm of the state and its domestic and foreign policies. Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin is the first contributor to the rubric.

The Independent Gazette reports that Lithuania is unwilling to hold talks with Moscow on the status of army units stationed on its territory. Vytautas Landsbergis told Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov that he does not see substance for talks to this effect.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA points out, for its part, that the stand of the Lithuanian leadership, just as that of Estonia and Latvia, is unambiguous: the relocation of Soviet Army units should be completed within one or two months.

Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze believes that a veritable civil war is now in progress in Georgia. In an interview with the Independent Gazette, he expressed his view about the development of events in his homeland. Shevardnadze stated his readiness to go to Georgia with a mediatory mission.

Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsin addresses his compatriots through the newspaper TRUD which carries his address in connection with the forthcoming December 1, 1991, referendum in the Ukraine. He welcomes the gaining of independence by former republics, regarding this as an earnest of the free development of all ethnic groups.

Primakov Appointment Portends Intelligence Shakeup

PM0710131391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Oct 91 p 1

[Leonid Radzikhovskiy commentary: "Historian Goes Down in History"]

[Text] The appointment of Yevgeniy Primakov (62, Russian, CPSU member since 1959, Politburo candidate member 1989-91, academician, with plenty of distinctions in various countries) as head of Soviet intelligence astounded many people—quite wrongly.

It has long been known that Primakov—a contemporary of Yulian Semenov at the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies—was among the civilian journalists, international affairs specialists, expert economists, and historians who had close links with the KGB. And the terms journalist and expert can be used without qualification, at any rate in the sense that this was not just a "cover"—Primakov did indeed write articles in newspapers and scientific journals.

Primakov was certainly part of the general circle of "liberal experts" of the top leadership of Brezhnev's era like Academicians Inozemtsev, Arbatov, Aganbegyan, and Bogomolov, but he occupied a special position here, closest of all to the right wing. This may have been linked with his overly close contacts with "counterintelligence" ["kontra"]. When the decision was adopted to proffer fraternal aid to the people of Afghanistan, Primakov was director of the Institute for Oriental Studies.

However, the academician's galloping career really began in 1985. It was then that he replaced A.N. Yakovlev (probably on the latter's recommendation) and became director of the most prestigious USSR Academy of Sciences Institute —the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. This scientific research institute deserved a place in the Guinness Book of Records for having the greatest number of Politburo members' relatives per square meter.

Since 1989 Primakov's activities have been unfolding before our very eyes—he was chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union (until 1990) and a member of the now defunct Presidential Council and Security Council. He performed important diplomatic missions for Gorbachev—he was chairman of the Commission on Privileges, and, contrary to common sense, proposed to wash the black "Chaykas" [official limousines] until they gleamed white as snow. But for the most part Primakov worked in foreign policy, acting independently of Shevardnadze, in parallel with him—or rather perpendicular to him—and always with less success. So it is all the more peculiar that Primakov did not succeed Shevardnadze, despite strong rumors. His possible appointment as Union [soyuz] foreign minister (Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, that is—not to be confused with the "Soyuz" group) was viewed as symbolic of the moderate shift to the right which characterized the start of 1991. At any rate, when Shevardnadze was voting for military action against Husayn in the United Nations, Primakov—smiling good-naturedly—was patting Saddam on the back during a peace mission to Baghdad. As for Primakov's other diplomatic acts, one of the best known is his statement on the eve of Gorbachev's meeting with the "Group of Seven" in London: If the USSR president does not get the required credits, expect an explosion of popular anger.

So what is in store for an intelligence service which has been removed from Bakatin's KGB and entrusted to Primakov? Bakatin did not listen to the instructions of Aleksandr Lyubimov on the "Vzglyad" program telling him to be more responsible and keep the esteemed professional Shebarshin. But it seems that Gorbachev and Bakatin, like their opponent Lyubimov, had their own reasons.

Obviously, the former KGB intelligence service can expect to be downsized. The elimination of the USSR also has some impact on the USSR KGB. The disappearance of the enemy image and the end of the cold war as a result of the unconditional capitulation of one of the sides also signifies a definite change in the tasks of the (former) [KGB] First Main Directorate. Technology thefts, contacts with the CIA, delicate missions in troubled regions where our new, nameless power will try to defend its as yet unclear interests—these things remain. Even some privatization of intelligence is possible, bearing in mind its contacts with various Soviet, international, and foreign firms. Eventually it is clear that the [General Staff] Main Intelligence Directorate—the main rival of the First Main Directorate—will merge to form a unified department.

In short, it would have been too hard morally for Lieutenant General Shebarshin to fulfill new tasks to partially dismantle the house where he lived a long and happy life. But there is no need to point out that Primakov, whose military rank lies somewhere between Lieutenant General Bakatin and Senior Lieutenant Murashev, is a transient figure in intelligence.

Interrepublican Food Agreement Drafted, Signed

OW0410135691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During the sitting of the USSR Emergency Economic Committee, Yuriy Luzhkov said that an interrepublican food agreement had been drafted for the upcoming meeting of the State Council.

To date, the draft agreement has been coordinated with and signed by representatives of 10 republics. The Ukraine and the three Baltic states did not sign it. Azerbaijan is to sign it within the next couple of days, said Yuriy Luzhkov.

Those violating the terms of the agreement will have to compensate the amount undersupplied in hard currency and at world prices.

Yuriy Luzhkov said that the draft food agreement would be passed to the West which is ready to offer its assistance.

In Luzhkov's estimate, in the period till the middle of 1992 the Soviet Union will roughly need a 10.5 billion roubles worth of credit to purchase food, including 40 million tons [as received] of grain. The credits must be guaranteed by both the Union and the republics, while the food will be distributed through the central bodies.

The chairman of the State Bank said that the USSR's external debt currently amounted to 61 billion dollars.

Underground Communist Organization 'Possible'

PM0110122591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 2

[By A. Podkopalov under general heading: "You Cannot Yoke Our People to Capitalism": "...They Can Only Be Driven Underground"]

[Text] According to reports which have reached the editorial office from authoritative sources, the existence of a well organized communist underground is possible. The process of creating an illegal bolshevik organization named "Party of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" began back in 1987 when the most farsighted figures of the CPSU and the KGB realized the inevitability of the collapse and defeat of the Communist Party. The training and "pumping" of the staunchest Chekists and Communists into the underground was already beginning then. The illegal organization members are splendidly trained and have a good material base, communications means, secret rendezvous, and clandestine apartments.

But according to our informer we should not fear acts of subversion and terrorism from them. The main task of the "Party of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is to introduce to enterprises and to establish control over the workers movement—in strike committees, trade unions, and the labor collective councils.

And another thing. The underground figures were clandestine and protected with a consideration for possible (and now real) cadres changes in the KGB and CPSU leadership. So even V. Bakatin will hardly succeed in uncovering this organization.

Constitution Day To Remain National Holiday

LD0210180691 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—The Soviet Constitution Day marked on October 7 will remain a holiday, the secretariat of the Soviet parliament told TASS on Wednesday [1 October].

The Secretariat of the Russian parliament confirmed this information.

Economic

Budget Deficit 'May Reach' 300-Billion Rubles

OW0410160091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR First Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Rayevskiy has said in his exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX] that the budget deficit in the USSR may reach 300 billion rubles by the year's end, including 200 billion of the union budget deficit and the aggregate republican budget deficit amounting to 100 billion. He said the deficit of the Union budget had been increasing by 21-22 billion rubles every month.

According to Mr. Rayevskiy, the deficit problem cannot be solved without comprehensively restructuring the budgetary and tax systems. Among the first possible measures he listed cutting down government expenditure through the encouragement of de-nationalization and privatization practices, imposing a kind of "moratorium" on additional social programs as of next year, canceling tax benefits and preserving the general tax rate at 35, and substituting value- added tax for turnover tax.

The deputy minister said the in-depth reasons for the budget deficit lie outside the sphere of economy and require political solutions connected, specifically, with privatization and the proper coordination of republican economic policies. Spontaneous attempts by the various republics to cope with financial difficulties independently, including by the introduction of republican currencies, can only lead to still greater chaos in the sphere of monetary circulation.

Treaty on Economic Cooperation Draws Much Comment

Armenia To Sign; Russia 'Unclear'

LD0810111191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The idea of a Eurasian economic community seems to be acquiring real shape every day. More and more are joining the agreement, and it looks as though the customary common administrative structures are becoming fewer in number. According to Silayev, chairman of the interrepublican cabinet—the interim government—all central industrial ministries are to be abolished in the near future.

Meanwhile, the Armenian Council of Ministers press center has announced that the republic is to sign the treaty on the economic union. It says Armenia has an interest in preserving the ruble as a unified currency. But Russia's position remains unclear. Russian Economics Minister Saburov has said that there are active opponents in the government to the proposed treaty for an economic union. Saburov said that President Yeltsin supports the agreement, though Yeltsin himself has not yet voiced his view—he is on vacation in Sochi.

Silayev on Russia

OW0710143791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Operational Committee for Economic Management, told a conference of American investors in Moscow on Monday [7 October] that he "hoped" Russia would support The Treaty on Economic Cooperation. He also said that the work on the economic treaty was accompanied by the drafting of a political Union treaty. "As far as I know," said Ivan Silayev, "this question has been preliminarily discussed by Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of individual republics, among them Boris Yeltsin."

Speaking about the possibility of Russia signing the economic treaty, Ivan Silayev said that he "discussed the main points of such an agreement during a private meeting with president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, two weeks ago."

"Boris Yeltsin took part in the work to adiust the draft treaty," said Ivan Silayev. "The things discussed in Alma-Ata and formulated as the final variant of the Treaty, almost entirely coincide with what we discussed with Boris Yeltsin," he said. "Without Russia's corresponding role, one can't think of creating an economic community," said Ivan Silayev.

A treaty on economic cooperation, said Ivan Silayev, might be signed at a meeting of the republics' leaders in Moscow, no later than October 15.

Ivan Silayev also said that a number of republics planning to run their national currencies (with the exception of the Baltic states) had committed themselves to use "civilized methods" to stabilize the rouble as the uniform inter-republican currency.

Monetary dealings with the Baltic states, said Ivan Silayev, will be a matter of special agreement between the economic community of the republics on the one hand, and each of the Baltic states on the other.

Ivan Silayev noted that during the forthcoming restructuring of the central apparatus, all of the central branch ministries could be eliminated.

'Not Yet in the Bag'

PM0810102191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Otto Latsis: "A Half-Step and a Tiny Bit More, or We Are on the Threshold of the Economic Community"]

[Text] First of all, let us spit three times over our left shoulder. In the interval between initialing and signing the first treaty among the republics of the former Union we have already fallen once—with the Novo-Ogarevo draft. That interval ended 19 August, just 24 hours before the signing. No putsch would appear to be foreseen now (again—spit, spit), but there could be other obstacles. So let us, above all, wish that the Alma-Ata draft will on 15 October successfully become the Treaty of Economic Community of 12 sovereign states. Let us wish that the first half-steps on the way to a new community in place of the old Union will safely become the first step.

And then let us endeavor to get to the bottom of certain important details. There is no need to retell the treaty: Its full text is published in this issue of the newspaper. As regards an assessment, its essence can be expressed briefly: It will be a step in the right direction. The on the whole competent market orientation of the draft is obvious. Let us add that in certain details this orientation was probably strengthened during the talks in Alma-Ata.

Let us take the first sentence in the key second chapter: "Enterpreneurial Activity." It now reads as follows: "Economic community member states recognize that the basis for boosting the economy is private ownership, freedom of enterprise, and competition." We remember that at a certain moment the participants in the consultations threw out of the draft the mention of private ownership, causing considerable alarm among the draft's supporters. But then not only was this very important concept restored but the word "competition," which was missing from the earlier published draft, was also added. In Article 5, which lists spheres of agreed policy, the vague "movement of goods and services" was replaced by the clear "goods and services market."

Certain gratifying excisions from the previous version of the draft are almost more important than the additions. Its third chapter included a crafty and verbose article (it was number 13), which began with a formula that is as familiar as toothache: "For the purposes of ensuring the normal functioning of the economy during the period of forming market relations..."—in short, something temporary by way, of course, of an exception. Just three trifles were to have constituted this exception: first, interstate agreements guaranteeing deliveries of the most important types of goods and services; second, agreed prices for these "most important types"; and, third..., our dear state order itself, placed both by organs of the participant states and by organs of the economic union. We know and have been taught that one such article is enough to bury all hopes in the reality of economic reforms. Only let just anyone distribute just anything—he and no one else will have power. Fortunately, this article was removed entirely—which makes it possible to have definite confidence in this sentence, which opens the third chapter: "Movements of goods and services on the territory of economic community member states shall be unrestricted and not subject to customs duty."

However, the struggle for the draft's market purity was probably not the most complex concern of the participants in the talks. How to combine the sovereignty of individual states with the effectiveness of their joint economic policy—this is the problem. It seems to have been possible to strengthen both national sovereignty and the reliability of cooperation by means of certain moves.

The very first change is to the title of the entire document and the name of the very organization to be set up: not the economic union but the economic community. It seems to sound a little gentler, to the joy of champions of independence. Instead of the former "coordinate their actions in the sphere of foreign investment," Article 40 now reads: "pursue independent policies in the sphere of foreign investment and, if necessary, coordinate those policies." The previous concept of "organs of the economic union," which still conveyed the spirit of the former "center," has been replaced by "institutions of the economic community."

But here, too, there is something else: The list of these institutions opens with the council of the heads of government of the economic community member states—the former draft mentioned only the conference of leaders of governments. The proposed function of the conference was denoted as follows: "to discuss key problems of implementing an agreed economic policy and making recommendations..." The function of the council is now proposed as this: "to elaborate and implement agreed economic policy and to monitor its implementation." Let us also add that the proposed conference was granted the right to veto decisions of the interrepublic economic committee "on a consensus basis," in other words only unanimously. According to the present draft, the Council may impose a veto by a qualified majority. As we see, compared with the previous draft, a version has been found for a far more authoritative organ of joint action, only this version does not weaken but protects the independence of the community member states, because their heads of government are together given more considerable power over the community's executive-administrative organ—the interstate committee.

In short, the "roundtable" in Alma-Ata improved the draft and made it, on the whole, acceptable. Although it is still far from ideal. As far as is known, conclusions

about the draft treaty of economic union have been received from the IMF, the World Bank, and the EC Commission. They have supported the basic ideas, but the wishes they have expressed are very substantial. Some of them were probably realized in Alma-Ata, but not all. Thus, experts recognize the expediency of a unified monetary policy as a condition for preserving a unified currency (the draft mentions just an agreed policy). Foreign experts go on to point to the need for coordinated price reforms in all the states and for tough restrictions on budget deficits—the draft contains corresponding formulas, but they are not so definite. Finally, foreign specialists are in favor of recognizing the priority of the economic community's acts over republic legislation. Here contemporary political ideas about sovereignty plainly come into conflict with economic necessity.

And yet we already have in our hands a document of such quality that we can say quite confidently: The speed and reliability of its signing and coming into force are more important than the polishing of details. If a loss of pace were to happen again, the further buildup of economic and political problems could cast doubt not only on the details. Voices are already to be heard in Russia expressing doubts about the possibility of joint action at all. They say that only Russia, acting independently, can pull everyone along like a locomotive. We know of the reservations of the Ukraine, which distances itself from the other republics on a number of issues—this was also felt in Alma-Ata. I mention this not as a rebuke—the right of sovereign states to their own position is not in doubt. I only wish to remind you that the matter is certainly not yet in the bag, and an awful lot of time has already been wasted. So the initiative and persistence of the meeting's organizer—Kazakhstan—merit all the more approval. Our correspondent V. Ardayev has reported that the Kazakh president's press service said that by 4 October the document had been signed by the leaders of Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. In a telephone conversation with N. Nazarbayev, B. Yeltsin rated highly the results of the Alma-Ata conference and came out in support of the initialed treaty. When the August emergency wrecked the Novo-Ogarevo process, we caught our right shoulder on the jamb at the entrance to the community, you might say. Let us not now catch our left shoulder. Once again: Let us spit over the left shoulder.

Union Versus Community

PM0410133591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[By correspondent Ye. Dotsuk under general heading: "Alma-Ata Meeting: 12 Plus Zero"]

[Text] The reason why the talks in Alma-Ata dragged on (the news conference on its results began several hours late) lay in what were in my view nonfundamental but nonetheless characteristic differences. Several republics were frightened of the word "union." Even in the context of an "economic union of sovereign states," only six of them agreed to enter an "economic union." Five were opposed, wanting to join into a community. The contradiction threatened to remain insoluble and Nazarbayev, a supporter of the economic union, suddenly expressed himself in favor of a community. So they managed without voting: On the eve of a very hard winter and the complete collapse of economic relations terminology is something which it does not cost much to sacrifice. Although the word "union" itself created for the world community the illusion that the country is being preserved and is advancing toward prosperity not through political declarations but through general human ones.

One more vexing issue was the post of chairman of the interrepublican economic committee. It was agreed that the premiers would nominate a candidate and the State Council would approve it.

A few words about Gorbachev. This was an awkward moment in the Alma-Ata meeting. He was probably offended that that he had not been invited to go to Alma-Ata. Nazarbayev invited Gorbachev only to Baykonyr, and inasmuch as Baykonyr was only a pretext for getting together, Gorbachev, citing circumstances, of course refused the invitation. Had he appeared in Alma-Ata the outcome of the talks, several observers said, might have been different—the mistrustful republics might have taken fright if the shadow of a great president among the small ones had loomed over the talks. Questions arose over the role that Gorbachev is to play now. Most probably he will still serve the community for a long time, coordinating relations between the republics. Especially as despite the economic agreement which has been signed many unclear questions still remain.

One of them is the degree of responsibility which the republics should bear for the nonfulfillment of any of their commitments to the others. So far there is no such mechanism. And if it is worked out down to the small details in the very near future then the treaty runs the risk of remaining a kind of brief joy expressed on paper noting the first Kazakh in space.

Evidently the treaty will soon be signed in its final version by the heads of the republics. At any rate Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus are prepared to do this immediately. The Ukraine, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan have promised they will sign it by 15 October. In Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Georgia Supreme Soviet debates on the signing of the treaty are still continuing. As for Latvia, it is trying to find a different form of cooperation with the new community, a form acceptable to itself. So far it is unclear whether it will be an observer or an associate member.

Gosbank Aide Cited on National Cash Shortage

PM0210102791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report under "In Brief" rubric: "When There Is No Money..."]

[Text] Sergey Ganichev, chief of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] Money Supply and Cash Operations Administration, reports:

"The cash situation in the country is very taut. A host of reasons can be cited for this.

"We estimate that the money shortage will last until the end of October or a little longer. The Gosbank is making efforts to normalize the situation. For instance, we have begun issuing 200 and 500 ruble banknotes and will possibly also issue banknotes of higher denominations. Moreover, an additional increase in the money supply will reduce the gulf between money supply and demand, but we will only take that option as a last resort."

Rumors on Replacing Bank Notes With Bonds Denied

PM0810093991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[TASS correspondent report from "Nationwide Panorama" column]

[Text] Moscow—The rumors about an imminent monetary reform and the replacement of the 50 and 100 ruble bills with bonds are utterly groundless, Vladimir Khorkin, chairman of the USSR Savings Bank, told a TASS correspondent. The only plans are to issue new bills of 200 and 500 ruble denominations.

Yavlinskiy Statement on Gold Reserves Discussed

LD0810031491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 5 Oct 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The price of gold at the world's major stock exchanges began to rise last week. Experts link this to a sensational statement by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy who said that the USSR gold reserve has almost been exhausted. However, the search for true information on the gold reserve has proven to be very difficult.

[Correspondent E. Guretskaya] The situation with the country's gold reserve reminds us of the window cases of our jewelry shops where one cannot find much gold. Do we have gold in the country and if so, how much?

[V. Rudakov, head of Glavmoszoloto administration] If we talk about the reserves of gold in terms of gold deposits in the country, there are quite a few of them. If we talk about the reserves of gold that have already been extracted and which is kept in state depositories then Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy has already given us the figure. He obviously had good reasons for giving this particular figure.

[Guretskaya] The figure that was cited by Yavlinsksiy—240 tonnes—is less than the volume of the annual extraction. It was impossible to find out what the true volume of gold extraction is in the country. This information still remains secret, though, according to Rudakov, the annual extraction of gold has not only not fallen but is increasing. Russia's share in the gold extraction industry is about 70 percent. [passage omitted]

New Exchange To Use Oil-Based Currency Rates

PM0310151391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by R. Zaynetdinov, A. Gromov]

[Text] How much is the ruble actually worth? It will be possible to find out at a petrochemical product exchange which has just opened.

As distinct from exchanges established by commercial organizations, this specialized exchange has been set up mainly by chemical industry enterprises primarily for the purpose of restoring the disrupted vertical and horizontal ties among them, but this time on the basis of free trade.

The constant domestic and external demand for chemical goods will make it possible to obtain a basis for establishing the real correlation between the ruble and key foreign currencies.

[M. Lavrinenko, chairman of the exchange council] A wide range of industrial goods, including gasoline and other petrochemical goods such as polyethylene, polypropylene, PVC, mineral fertilizers, and fibers will be represented at our exchange. One of the aims which we are pursuing is the establishment of civilized prices for all these products.

Trade at this exchange will open 3 October. Detailed information can be obtained by calling 281-92-58 and 924-73-28.

Agriculture

Grain Harvesting 'Considerably Lower' Than 1990

LD0810094691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Cropping is almost finished in the Soviet Union. The State Statistical Service reports grain has been cropped and threshed from more than 90 percent of all crop areas. This makes nearly 152 million tons of grain, which is considerably lower than the previous year. The situation becomes even worse because of the fact that collective and other farms are in no hurry to sell grain at the present prices, in breach of all commitments to the state, counting that food shortages will soon bring a considerable jump in purchasing prices.

Rumors of Moscow Shortages Denied

PM0410080591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1647 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By N. Pavlov and D. Malyshev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Pavlov] Do you know where Europe's biggest vegetable depot is located? For some people the answer will be a revelation. The base is in Moscow. You might think that in a city where there are depots like this, there could be no question of a shortage of produce. Yet rumors are continuing about imminent famine. Old women who experienced the freezing winters of the war are insisting on laying in stocks of dry rusks. What is in store for Muscovites this winter? People today are apt to take a gloomy view of everything, but according to British experts, who are studying the food supply mechanism in Moscow, Muscovites have nothing to fear.

[Ronald Macintosh, chairman of the British Food Industry Consortium, in English with simultaneous translation into Russian] I do not think you will have a hungry winter. These rumors have been greatly exaggerated.

[Pavlov] Leaders of vegetable depots assures us that the situation is under control.

Every day some 35,000 tonnes of potatoes, 10,000 tonnes of cabbage, and 4,500 tonnes of carrots are being laid in.

[V. Doroshin, deputy prefect of the southeast region of Moscow] There is produce and we will not go hungry.

Statistical Survey of Republics' Grain Crops

914A1248A Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian No 198, 5 Sep 91 p 1

[By Leonid Bashchukov under the rubric "Statistical Survey": "Will We Have Bread?"]

[Text] **It is already clear today that the decline in the production and in state purchases of meat and milk by 13 percent and of eggs by 8 percent which occurred in January-July, compared with the same period last year, will not be made up in the remaining time.**

Consequently, tension over providing the population with meat and dairy products in the coming year will not decrease. This means that the main products for the population remain, as in many years, bread and potatoes, which we consume in the greatest quantities in the world. Will we have bread?

It should be noted right away that the situation is unfolding quite abnormally. Different objective and subjective factors are the reason for this. In autumn 1990 there were shortfalls in sowing of over 4 million hectares of winter crops, which were not made up in the spring. As a result, the area sown in grain crops shrank again and consisted of only 109.4 million hectares, including 4.0 million hectares of corn for grain. Winter grain (at 2.7 million hectares) turned out to make up less of the total grain crops (in conjunction with the shortfall in sowing) while the yield from it was higher than that of the spring crops by 5-7 quintals.

One should also take into account the drought in many regions of Russia and Kazakhstan as well as the rains in the European portion of the country, which had a negative effect on agriculture.

Nor should one ignore the circumstance that agriculture received significantly less commercial fertilizer, toxic chemicals, tractors, and agricultural machines than previously. There are serious interruptions in deliveries of fuels and lubricants and there is not enough transportation, packaging, labor, and so forth. All this has a negative effect on the harvest and leads to increased losses. There will be noticeably less grain this year than in 1990. The latest data on the course of the harvest of eared crops on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes testifies to this.

At the end of August 66 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops (excluding corn) had been mown. This is 65 percent of the area sown. There were 62.4 million hectares threshed in the fields—94 percent of what had been mown. The course of the harvest of grain crops across the republics is apparent from the following table:

	Mown	Threshed	
	Millions of hectares	In percentage of area sown	Millions of hectares
RSFSR	41.1	69	38.6
Ukrainian SSR	12.1	94	11.9
Belorussian SSR	2.3	90	2.3
Uzbek SSR	0.7	82	0.7
Kazakh SSR	6.9	31	6.0
Republic of Georgia	0.1	80	0.1
Republic of Azerbaijan	0.6	99	0.6
Republic of Lithuania	0.7	82	0.7
Republic of Moldova	0.5	94	0.5
Republic of Latvia*	0.2	37	0.2
Republic of Kyrgyzstan	0.3	71	0.3
Tajik SSR	0.2	80	0.2
Republic of Armenia	0.02	30	0.02
Turkmen SSR	0.2	89	0.2
Republic of Estonia	0.1	41	0.1

*As of 19 August 1991.

There were 121.5 million tons of grain threshed on the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. If to this quantity one adds approximately 40-45 million tons which may be received from unharvested fields, 5-6 million tons of grain on other state farms and from fields cultivated by the population (including peasant farms), and approximately 10-12 million more tons of corn, then it turns out that we may harvest 170-180 million tons of grain.

It is somewhat more difficult to estimate the volume of procurement (state purchases) of grain. As of 26 August procurement organizations had received 27.3 million tons of grain as opposed to 43.6 million tons by this same time last year. A fundamental influence on the course of grain procurement is purchase prices and what one may purchase for that money. And although purchase prices for grain have been increased, under existing circumstances the farms are nonetheless holding back on sales of grain to the state. Therefore the difficulties in predicting volumes of procurements are apparent.

Further on Sep Statistics

924A0044B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Course of the Harvest"]

[Text] According to data of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] for 30 September, 93.4 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops have been mown (92 percent of the area sown), and 92.1 million hectares have been threshed (90 percent). There have been 151.7 million tons of grain threshed throughout the country. Last year there were 211.5 million tons by this date.

There have been 35.4 million tons of grain purchased for state stocks, or 46 percent of the state order.

There have been 1,432,000 hectares of potatoes dug up, which is 82 percent of the area sown.

There have been 487,000 hectares of vegetables harvested, which is 50,000 hectares less than last year.

There have been 2,674,000 tons of cotton purchased by the state (35.8 percent of the plan).

There have been 1,483,000 hectares of sugar beets harvested (48 percent of the area sown).

Late Sep Weather, Crop Status

PM0710151791 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by agrometeorologist T. Rossinskaya: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] The end of September brought the inhabitants of the country's European territory a gift of warmth. Only on the initial days of the 10-day period was it cool, with frost in a number of areas of the northeastern part. But in the last five days of the month the maximum temperature was 21-28 degrees, and conditions for harvest work and for the growth and development of plants imporved, particularly in the northern half of the European part. The water supply was good. Winter crops sown in August and early September had tillered and crops sown at a later date were in the shooting or third-leaf phases.

In most of Moldova, in a number of rayons of eastern, southern, and central oblasts of the Ukraine, in the eastern part of the North Caucasus region, and in the Lower Volga area, the weather remained warm and dry throughout the 10-day period. As a result, water for winter grain crops were unsatisfactory, and, in some places, poor. There were around 15 mm (less than 10 mm in places) of productive water available in the arable soil layer for winter crops sown on previously nonfallow land. Water availability in the arable soil layer on previously fallow land was mainly satisfactory (20-25 mm).

Over the remaining territory of the Ukraine and North Caucasus region water availability for the arable soil layer was satisfactory or good.

In the farming regions of West Siberia and in northern oblasts of Kazakhstan conditions were favorable for completing the harvest of grain crops and potatoes, and the small amount of rain was no particular obstacle to harvest work. Only in parts of Uralsk, North Kazakhstan, Kokchetav, East Kazakhstan, and Kemerovo Oblasts and Altay Kray, where there was a greater amount of precipitation, did the machine operators have to wait for the bad weather to pass. As for growth and development of winter grain crops, conditions were generally favorable. Winter crops sown in August and early September had tillered and they were in good condition.

In the Central Asian republics and in southern Kazakhstan dry weather in the first half of the period favored the ripening and opening of cotton bolls. The situation changed in the latter half of the period as a result of a drop in temperature and precipitation. Nonetheless, over most of the territory an extra 1-2 and in Turkmenia and north Uzbekistan 2-2.5 bolls opened per plant. Some 70-90 percent of the formed bolls have now opened. This is a near average indicator.

The cotton harvest continues.

Situation Through 30 Sep

924A0044A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[Article by the news center of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food: "October Has Already Started..."]

[Text] According to data of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] for 30 September, 93.4 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops have been mown and 92.1 million have been threshed. That is 92 and 90

percent of the sown area, respectively. There were 54.3 billion hectares threshed in the Russian Federation and 18.3 million in Kazakhstan—91 and 83 percent, respectively.

There were 151.7 million tons of grain threshed. The average crop yield is 16.5 quintals per hectare. There were 35.4 million tons, or 46 percent of the state order (23 percent of the threshed grain), purchased for state stocks. Last year on this date the volume of state purchases of grain was 59.2 million tons. There were 19.5 million tons purchased from the RSFSR—47 percent of the state order; 10.4 million tons from the Ukraine—60 percent; and 2.5 million tons from Kazakhstan—17 percent.

Harvesting of corn for grain is being conducted. As of 30 September an area of about 635,000 hectares of corn cobs were threshed, and the yield per hectare was 30.2 quintals of grain.

There were 1,526,000 hectares of sunflowers harvested. The average yield is 13.5 quintals per hectare. Some 52 percent of the sunflower that has been threshed (1,061,000 tons) has been purchased for state stocks.

The harvest of beets is taking place at a pace which is significantly faster than last year's. However the yield of the roots is lower—196 quintals against 247. Throughout the country there have been 29 million tons of beets dug up, and of them 7 million are lying in the fields. There are many beets which have not been carried out in Belgorod, Kursk, Voronezh, Lipetsk, and Tambov Oblasts. The reason is a shortage of transportation.

Of 318 sugar factories, 301 are operating and have processed 10.1 million tons of beets, producing 993,000 tons of sugar—204,000 tons less than by this date last year.

There have been 1,432,000 hectares of potatoes harvested—82 percent of the sown area. The average yield is 99 quintals per hectare. The yield is 8 quintals lower than last year's, but in conjunction with better organization of the efforts the potatoes being stored are of higher quality.

The harvest of vegetables continues. As of 30 September 487,000 hectares had been harvested—53 percent of the sown fields. The yield is 16 quintals "behind" last year's. But even the available crops are being mishandled in many places. For example, in Novgorod, Smolensk, Tomsk, Orenburg, Chita, and Irkutsk oblasts there are already light frosts and a significant portion of the vegetables have not been harvested.

There have been 2,674,000 tons of raw cotton sold to the state (35.8 percent of the plan). The farms of Uzbekistan have provided 1,530,000 tons (34.4 percent of the plan), of Azerbaijan—451,000 tons (86 percent of the plan), and of Turkmenistan—457,000 tons (35 percent of the plan).

The picking of fiber flax has been completed practically everywhere. There have been 194,000 tons of the fiber sold to the state—61 percent of the state order.

Potato Harvest Increases; Pricing Problems Remain

PM0710203691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[By M. Petrov: "We Planted Fewer Potatoes, But Harvested More Than Last Year"]

[Text] Quite recently our newspapers in the fall used to bristle with absolutely identical "headlines." "Let's Keep Everything We Grow!" How fast times change. It turned out that appeals were needed when these same potatoes could not be sold for more than 10 kopeks a kilo. This ridiculous price aroused nothing more than false pride in us customers. However, that is not quite right. The price of 10 kopeks per kilo was indicative of our valuing peasant labor in terms of kopeks.

This year Russia's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have reduced the area sown with potatoes by 300,000 hectares. That represents one-fourth of the usual area. Yet this fall collective and private farms expect the gross harvest to be 5 million tonnes up on last year's. Moreover, 22 million tonnes, out of 32 million down to the last potato, had been harvested by 20 September and are already in private cellars now. But only 76 percent of the anticipated kolkhoz and sovkhoz harvest of 10 million tonnes has as yet been harvested.

You may think that an abundance of potatoes has not been recorded everywhere this fall. Of course, anyone who "slogs away" on his own plot is in no hurry to hand over "his produce" for a song and will prefer to hang on for more favorable times. That does not mean, however, that difficulties await us in the winter with the "second bread." It is just that in a normal economy everything has to have a realistic, rather than a farfetched price. Everything is moving toward that; for instance, the difference between prices for industrial and agricultural output caused Russian peasants losses this year of R [rubles] 42 billion.

A. Titov, deputy chief of Mosplodoovoshchprom [expansion unknown], told this correspondent that in transactions with Moscow Belorussian, Bryansk, and Orel peasants do not merely require money for their produce but something material: household equipment, automobiles, timber, metal. To date, 43 percent of the required potatoes and 37 percent of the vegetables have been put away for storage in the capital, although, according to my interlocutor, the bases are better prepared and shipments are being effected more promptly. Many stores have obtained greater economic autonomy than before and are working on direct contracts. Moscow has already begun to receive potatoes bought in Poland. So, the fears that the capital will be left on starvation rations, Titov stressed, are in no way justified.

Scientific

Media Covers Soviet-Austrian Space Mission

TV Shows Launch

PM0810094391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by P. Orlov and A. Gerasimov]

[Text] [Announcer] At last a day which has started with good news. The Soyuz TM-13 craft with an international crew on board was launched successfully at Baykonyr today. Crew commander is USSR Cosmonaut Aleksandr Volkov, and the cosmonaut researchers are Kazakh Takhtar Aubakirov and Austrian citizen Franz Viehboeck. [unintelligible exchange between crew and ground control]

[Orlov] The order has gone out to initiate the launch procedure [klyuch na start]. This means the automatic system controlling launch operations has been switched on.

A very strong wind is blowing in the steppe. Doubts have arisen as to whether the launch will go ahead. However, Commander Aleksandr Volkov reassured everyone by saying that the rocket is not swaying. This means that all is well.

[Crew Commander Aleksandr Volkov, with German translation in the background] The program of the visiting expedition is, as always, full. You might even say it's more than full. Two research cosmonauts will be at work at once. The scope of the station has not changed, but the number of experiments to be carried out has more or less doubled. This was bound to produce some complications. However, we have sought to sidestep them. During the training sessions in the simulators, we have divided up our time in such a way as to fit in the whole program, and I believe we will be able to do everything as planned. We have even managed to set some time aside in case we need to catch up on something.

[Gerasimov] When Takhtar Aubakirov and Franz Viehboeck leave the station, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev will first test the docking system. Two spacewalks are scheduled for later on.

[Unidentified voice] Lift-off. [Video shows launch]

[Announcer] A detailed report on the lift-off of the Soyuz TM-13 spacecraft will be broadcast immediately after the evening news bulletin.

Program Cuts Anticipated

PM0810081591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0630 GMT 5 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [063610] [Announcer] As from today an international space crew is orbitting the Earth. It comprises the Russian Volkov, the Kazakh Aubakirov, and Austrian citizen Viehboeck.

Meanwhile, the new space flight has once again focused world attention on the Soviet space program. It has to be admitted that despite the successful work of the current space crew, some general comments are less than flattering. For example, the British newspaper THE TIMES writes citing undisclosed political sources in Moscow that cuts affecting a number of Soviet space programs are to be announced within the next few weeks. According to the newspaper, a decision has already been made to drop the program for building Buran space shuttles and for launching a new space station, Mir 2. The newspaper cites experts as saying that this could be taken as the Soviet Union's renunciation of its status as a space superpower.

Crew Continues Experiments

LD0710155191 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] Mission Control Centre October 7 TASS—Aleksandr Volkov, Toktar Aubakirov and Franz Veihboeck went into their fourth day of work aboard the Mir space station.

As before, they continue to concentrate on implementing the two researcher cosmonauts' scientific programme. Viehboeck is performing the medical experiments "bodyfluids", which is designed to explore the reaction of man's circulation system to irritants in zero-gravity conditions, and "son" (sleep) and also the technological experiment "logion" to test ion radiators. In addition, Viehboeck plans to photograph Austria's territory today.

Aubakirov will conduct the "Batyr" and "Son-B" medical experiments. The first is designed to study the influence of special respiratory exercises.

In the afternoon, the cosmonauts will talk to Soviet and Austrian radio commentators.

Military

Ryshov Discusses Future Military Structures

AU0710115491 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 6 Oct 91 p 31

[Interview with Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryshov, member of the Soviet Political Consultative Council, by unidentified WELT AM SONNTAG reporter in Moscow; date not given: "Nuclear Weapons Will Remain Under a Central Soviet Command"]

[Text] [WELT AM SONNTAG] Some republics of the former USSR are preparing to set up separate armed forces. What will become of the Soviet Union as a former military power?

[Ryshov] After the putsch, Gorbachev suggested that the group that dealt with the country's security under my chairmanship should be revived. We are now cooperating very actively with the people who hold military responsibility in Russia and with the new leadership in the Soviet Defense Ministry. We met with Defense Minister Shaposhnikov and the heads of the military structures of the individual republics in the Defense Ministry. All 15 republics took part.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] Including the three Baltic states?

[Ryshov] They were also present. Latvian Prime Minister Godmanis appeared on behalf of the three republics. There must be a special category of treaty with the Baltics.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] What agreement was achieved?

[Ryshov] Marshal Shaposhnikov and the representatives of all 15 republics expressed their opinion over the course of two days. However, we did not succeed in agreeing on a common basis. Nonetheless, a very important decision was made: Nuclear weapons will generally be under a central Soviet command.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] About 30,000 nuclear warheads are involved.

[Ryshov] Including tactical ones, yes.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] A total of 90 percent of all nuclear and strategic weapons are deployed on the territory of the Russian Federation....

[Ryshov] That is correct. The others are in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and primarily the Ukraine.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] What will the security concept that you are developing look like?

[Ryshov] We have offered the republics three options. We discussed them with Gorbachev for four hours. The first option—a confederative military structure. The second—a Soviet NATO. The third script, as it was called—a structure for all those republics that will totally secede from Moscow as the center.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] In other words, the independent republics.

[Ryshov] Yes. Then the individual republics must begin bilateral or multilateral efforts in order to find a common basis. In my view, a mixture between the first and the second forms is possible today, a mixture between a confederation and a NATO structure. Ultimately, we will arrive at the NATO variant.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] Does that mean that republics that were members of the Soviet Union can join the so-called Moscow NATO voluntarily?

[Ryshov] Their participation should also be possible in the economic area and in environmental protection. The problem of strategic nuclear weapons must also be reconsidered and revised.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] Which of the three options would President Gorbachev prefer?

[Ryshov] He sees the reality and has realized that an alternative lies between a confederatiive structure and a NATO structure. The decision has already been made that every republic can have its own national guard. This solution is a step toward the NATO structure. As for the nuclear weapons, a central command must be maintained. There is no other way.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] Have precautions been taken to prevent unauthorized persons from getting hold of nuclear weapons in the individual republics?

[Ryshov] It is possible in every republic that unauthorized persons get hold of nuclear weapons, in order to make the republic stand out somehow, even though they are unable to do anything with them because they have no idea. Measures have been taken and everything is under control in the technical sense. As for the political management, many problems must be resolved. However, for this purpose, a new strategic concept must be drafted. It has often been asked what "sufficient armament" means. That is an empty term. Only after a new military or political doctrine has been prepared, can we define the meaning of this term.

[WELT AM SONNTAG] Russian President Yeltsin has said that borders could be changed. That has enhanced some republics' fear about a possible hegemony of Russia.

[Rushov] That has cost me a sleepless night—first three sleepless nights there, and then the fourth sleepless night when Gorbachev asked me to go to Kiev in the Ukraine. The border problem was at issue. We discussed it in Kiev for 10 hours. Then we issued a soothing communique. The next day, people told me that it had had a soothing effect. The people are afraid and they do not want the borders to be changed....

Troop Withdrawal From Estonia To Be Negotiated

PM0710135991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel V. Streltsov and Captain 2d Rank V. Urban incorporating reports on interviews with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and Yuriy Kakhn, Estonian permanent representative to Moscow, under the "Sore Spot" rubric; date and place of interviews not stated: "Estonia: What Status Will Our Troops Have?"]

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has been appointed head of the delegation for talks with the Estonian Republic.

In Sobchak's opinion, "the talks should be conducted on a scientific basis." According to RIA reports, he noted that it is first and foremost necessary to define the range of problems subject to discussion and the sides' claims on the various issues. Actually, Sobchak believes that it is too early to start talks at the moment. The Estonian leadership must be ready to hold talks, he thinks. It is assumed that the initial work will be done by a group of experts who will outline possible compromise solutions, and only after this will the USSR delegation sit down at the negotiating table, Sobchak said.

Our correspondent put the following question to Anatoliy Aleksandrovich: How does he perceive the status of Soviet troops on the territory of the Baltic states, and what is his position in this difficult matter?

This is his answer:

[Sobchak] There is an integrated system of state defense security. This is a system costing hundreds of billions of rubles. And therefore it cannot be changed overnight. At the moment we can only talk about future changes. The Baltic states are insisting on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territory. And this is their legitimate right. Independent states are entitled to have no foreign troops on their territory. But our troops will be there under the terms of a treaty. The treaty will also define the status of troops temporarily stationed on adjacent territory.

Let me note that Japan is one of the richest countries in the world, and the presence of U.S. troops there does not cause any problems. In exactly the same way, the presence of U.S. troops in Germany and South Korea has not prevented them from prospering. Thus the actual fact of troops being stationed there has absolutely no effect at all on real economic conditions. We simply have to agree the terms for the stationing and maintenance of Soviet troops on the territory of the Baltic states.

Our position, therefore, is as follows. Until the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany and other East European countries has been completed (and we shall be withdrawing troops from there in a systematic manner, ensuring housing for the contingent of servicemen being withdrawn, creating jobs, and so on), we will not withdraw troops from the Baltics. This position is clear and unequivocal. Once Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Germany we will discuss the withdrawal of troops from the Baltics. And once again, with due consideration for all ensuing consequences. [Sobchak ends]

But what is the Estonian leadership's position? Yuriy Kakhn, permanent representative of the Estonian Republic Government in Moscow, told our correspondent over the telephone that the republic is interested in finding normal solutions to defining the future status of Soviet troops. This solution should be defined within the framework of the talks. At the moment Estonia does not have a definitive position to put forward at the talks, he went on to note. At any rate, information about this has not reached the permanent mission.

As far as the time frame for troop withdrawal is concerned, Mr. Kakhn expressed his point of view: The republic is naturally keen on the earliest possible troop withdrawal, but since much depends on economic questions (payment for the lease of bases, for example) and this will be mutually beneficial, compromise solutions are possible.

Gorbachev Decree on Fall Draft, Reserve Ranks

PM0810104191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[By military correspondent V. Litovkin: "President Drafts for Service"]

[Text] On 3 October USSR President M. Gorbachev issued a decree on the transfer to the reserve of servicemen who have completed the prescribed terms of active military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces and of border, internal, and railroad troops and on the next draft of citizens for active military service during October-December 1991. This is the first instance in our history since 1941 where the Army and Navy draft has been implemented by the head of state.

Why? There are many answers to this question. But the chief one is that the Army and service in it by young men from the sovereign republics have today become one of the most acute problems in the newly developing interstate relations. Without a Union treaty, without a law on defense and a clear definition of how and on what principles the reformed all-Union Army will be built, and without a decree by the country's president the draft might not take place. Although even under these conditions its results leave great doubts.

There are special features in the president's decree on the transfer to the reserve and the draft for military service.

Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, said in conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent: "It points out for the first time that the draft will be carried out in accordance with the numbers defined by agreements between the Ministry of Defense and the sovereign republics, and representatives of enterprises, establishments, public organizations, and movements, including soldiers' mothers committees, will be widely involved in the work of military commissariat draft commissions."

The presidential decree came somewhat late. Usually such an event is awaited among the troops during 20-29 September, and the delay over it and the proposal to discuss it in the State Council and the republic Supreme Soviets gave rise to a mass of rumors. Assumptions about the drafting of students into the Army circulated around the country, that there will now be a draft only

once a year—in the fall—that young men of the fall 1991 draft will serve the promised 18 months and not two years, that after the first six months they will be offered the conclusion of a professional contract...

"We will not draft students," Col. Gen. Kolesnikov said, "and a new law on military service is needed in order to implement the proposals you mention. There is not yet one. So the present draftees will serve according to the old regulations."

The general also said that by agreement with the republics some young men will stay and serve on their own territory, while others will go to those districts to which the defense ministries are obliged to send them.

It is hard to judge the forecasts for the draft, but it is clear that it will be complex.

Amnesty To Be Granted for Draft Evaders

LD0510095191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] The Soviet Union is going to grant an amnesty to about 2,000 people sentenced for their refusal to serve in the Army for political or religious reasons. The statement was made at a news conference following the Moscow human rights forum of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe by a cochairman of the Soviet delegation at the forum, Sergey Kovalev.

He voiced hope that next year the country would adopt a law on an alternative military service.

Navy Expert Details Nuclear Submarine Accident

PM0810115191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 First Edition p 3

[Captain 3d Rank Yu. Gladkevich report under the rubric: "We Report the Details": "Accident on Nuclear-Powered Vessel"]

[Text] As we know there was an accident last Friday [27 September] on a Northern Fleet nuclear submarine (commanded by Captain 1st Rank I. Grishkov), which was carrying out missile firing in the White Sea. Our correspondent requested the Navy Main Staff to report the details of the emergency.

The nuclear-powered vessel was carrying out missile firing to test the readiness of a batch of missiles which had been in storage, Captain 1st Rank Yu. Leushev, a senior Navy specialist in missile weaponry, says. During firing air pressure in a launching tube increased due to the malfunctioning of a coupling, there was an equipment seal failure, and as a result of rocket fuel components being combined there was an explosion. The damage can be described as minor: The launching tube cover rack and drive were torn away with the fairing, and in addition the submarine's outer hull casing was damaged.

The fuel components were combusted completely below water and the products of combustion were nontoxic, so that there are no grounds for fearing ecological contamination in the vicinity of the accident. The results of a chemical analysis of the water in the launching tube carried out after the submarine had surfaced confirm this.

Vice Admiral V. Poroshin, Northern Fleet deputy commander for combat training and chief of the Navy Combat Training Directorate, has taken charge of the work of the commission to clarify the reasons for the accident. It is still not clear what the reason was for the accident—a design defect in the component, incorrect actions by the submarine's personnel, or the consequences of storing the missiles for a long time. But, judging by the work sheet, the submarine's personnel had coupled up the missile correctly and had checked it. The storage of components at the missile supply technical support base is also strictly in accordance with the instructions.

There were no casualties on board the nuclear-powered vessel and all crew members are in good health.

The Navy Main Staff also informed us that the repair work to the submarine is being completed, and it will leave the port it called into for repairs either today or tomorrow.

Northern Fleet Civilian Personnel Ready To Strike

PM0810084991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[By V. Litovkin: "Strike Committees Set Up in Northern Fleet"]

[Text] An unprecedented event in the history of the Soviet Navy has occurred in the Northern Fleet. An enlarged conference of auxiliary ship personnel has set up a strike committee and announced its intention to start a strike.

I must say straightaway that the strike committee was set up not by military seamen but by their civilian colleagues, Defense Ministry employees working on hydrographic ships, tankers—fuel and lubricant tankers—tugs, and hospital ships. They form the main crews of the auxiliary fleet.

"Our demands are fair and therefore legitimate," Valentin Andreyev, a member of the strike committee, reckons. "The auxiliary fleet's supernumerary [volnonayemnyy] seamen demand that the privileges that all northerners enjoy be extended to them and that their wages be raised to the level received by our colleagues on USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet ships. It is, after all, the poor wages and unsettled nature of the housing problem that have resulted in only 65 percent of cadre posts on auxiliary ships currently being filled. But we only resorted to a strike after exhausting all other opportunities for resolving the labor conflict."

The seamen said that if their demands are not met, no ship will leave its moorings. This means that carrier ships, cruisers, large ASW and nuclear missile-carrying submarines will be left without the requisite servicing. The fleet's combat readiness is in danger. Only in exceptional cases will ships in distress be offered assistance, members of the strike committee said.

You can understand them: To date roughly 1,200 auxiliary ship crewmen are without apartments. A seaman has to wait 17-20 years on average for a home of his own. And that is in the Far North, where natural and economic conditions keep people indoors. A mechanic first class on an auxiliary fleet tanker, for instance, is paid 208 rubles [R]. His colleague with the Murmansk maritime steamship company gets R315. Although these sums nowadays are minimal.

How does the leadership of the Northern Fleet regard the situation? We called Admiral Feliks Gromov, fleet commander.

"I back the strike committee's demands," he told IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "We cannot indeed understand and accept as right the fact that our people are in a far worse state than their colleagues at the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. Why does the Russian Government decision on northern privileges and allowances not extend to all workers in the region, but only to the elite? We are willing and are trying to help our seamen, but the key to resolving the problem lies in Moscow. This primarily applies to boosting auxiliary crews' wages."

We could resolve the other problems here, at local level, the admiral said. The housing problem, for instance. But according to current regulations the Northern Fleet's housing commission has to provide only officers and their families with apartments; gorispolkoms [city executive committees] have to provide housing for civilian or, as we say, supernumary seamen.

The Murmansk Ispolkom [executive committee]—and our auxiliary ships are largely based in this city's waters—is systematically failing to meet its obligations to Northern Fleet seamen. These obligations are alien to it. We are willing to take on civilian seamen, but for this we need additional funds, Admiral Gromov explained.

A vicious circle? Yet there is still hope that common sense and readiness to actually resolve the specific problems experienced by specific people instead of just talking about it will prevail here and that the Navy's first strike will not take place.

Baltic Affairs

Soviet Commander Views Army Withdrawal Deadline

LD0710233491 Moscow TASS in English 2304 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga October 8 TASS—"The extremely radical formulation of the question may create yet another hotbed of confrontation. I do not think this decision can be fulfilled," commander of the troops of the Baltic Military District Lieutenant- General Valeriy Mironov said, commenting on the decision of the Baltic Council on the deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

It was announced today that representatives of the three Baltic republics had agreed on October 5 that they would work towards the withdrawal of all Soviet Army troops from the capitals of the three republics before December 1, 1991.

The question about deadlines for the withdrawal of Soviet Army units must be decided at the intergovernmental level, Mironov told TASS. "Let us look the truth in the eye. It is possible to withdraw troops from the capitals and accommodate them in barracks on three-tier beds, it is possible to set up a field camp, but all this requires a lot of money and time".

Over the past few days, many families of servicemen in the Baltics have been notified by local authorities that they must vacate apartments they are now occupying. These actions are obviously directly related to the solution of the problem of citizenship.

"As the commander of Armed Forces in the district cannot turn a blind eye to the attempts not to let us complete construction of housing that is already underway, to the fact that almost 11,000 people have no apartments," the general said.

"There is no ground to believe that troops can be withdrawn overnight or within a week. People need somewhere to live".

All this causes tension in relations between local authorities and the military, Mironov said.

Because of this, it is necessary to define the legal basis of our relations, the status of troops and their commander.

"Participants in the recent meeting of the collegium of the USSR Defence Ministry agreed unanimously—there is the need to grant the commander of the troops in the District the rights of an authorized representative of the Soviet Government for the transition period," the general said.

Further Issues Raised

LD0710201491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 7 Oct (TASS)—"Posing the question in such a radical way may create another seat of confrontation. I do not think that this decision can be implemented," Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov, Baltic Military District troop commander, said on the Baltic Council's decision on the schedule for Soviet Army units to withdraw from the territory of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It became known today that representatives of the three Baltic Republics agreed on 5 October to obtain the withdrawal of all military units from the capitals of the republics before 1 December of this year.

"The question of the schedule for Soviet Army units to withdraw should be resolved at an intergovernmental level," V. Mironov told the TASS correspondent. "Let's not beat about the bush. Troops may be withdrawn from the capitals; they may be billeted in barracks in three-tier bunks; a field camp may be set up. However, more money and time is needed for all that."

Over the past few days, many families of servicemen in the Baltics have received notices from the local authorities demanding that they vacate the residences they are occupying. The district commander noted that these actions obviously relate directly to solving the citizenship question. "As district troop commander, I cannot close my eyes to the fact that we are not being allowed to complete housing construction which is already under way and that almost 11,000 people do not have residences," the general said. "There are no grounds for thinking that the troops may be withdrawn tomorrow or over a week. People need somewhere to live."

All of that is giving rise to tension in relations between the authorities and the military, V. Mironov admitted. Therefore, from his point of view, it is essential to define as soon as possible the legal basis of these relations and the status of the troops and of the commander. "Participants in the recent sitting of the USSR Defense Ministry collegium came to the general conclusion that there is a need to grant the district troop commander the rights of a USSR Government representative in the transitional period," the general said.

USSR, Baltic Diplomatic Relations Close

LD0810140991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1303 GMT 8 Oct 91

[By correspondent Aleksandra Budris]

[Text] Moscow 8 Oct (TASS)—It is thought that the USSR's diplomatic relations with Lithuania and Estonia will be established tomorrow. The TASS correspondent was told this by the Second European Directorate of the

USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, within whose jurisdiction ties with the Baltic states that used to be part of the Soviet Union now lie.

Algirdas Saudargas and Lennart Meri, heads of the Lithuanian and Estonian diplomatic departments, will arrive in Moscow for this purpose. They will exchange notes with Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs, on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Latvia, the third Baltic republic, last week established diplomatic relations with the Russian Federation at the level of embassies. The permanent mission of Latvia to Moscow told the TASS correspondent that an exchange of notes between the ministers of foreign affairs of Latvia and the USSR should take place in the near future.

Preparations are currently underway for the talks between the USSR and the Baltic republics connected with the recognition by the Soviet Union of their independence. It is thought that the problem of the stay of the USSR armed forces on the territory of the three republics will be one of the most acute questions at the talks. As has been reported, at the 5 October sitting of the Baltic Council, the heads of the parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia put forward the demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn before 1 December of this year.

Estonia

Savisaar To Speak on 'Russian' Question

OW0710161291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Estonian parliament's Commission for Foreign Relations, Indrek Toome, told the newspaper RAHVA HAAL that Estonia's Supreme Soviet ould have Premier Edgar Savisaar comment on some of the statements made by Estonian Minister for Ethnic Relations, Artur Kuznetsov.

Mr. Kuznetsov believes that Estonian citizenship should be granted to all of Estonia's residents and that there must be two national languages—Estonian and Russian. In his opinion, Estonia should give up its claims on the so-called disputable territories in the St. Petersburg and Pskov regions which once belonged to the Estonian republic and which was passed to the Russian Federation in 1945.

Estonia's ex-Premier Indrek Toome, who opposes the Savisaar government, said in view of the fact that the government has not refuted Kuznetsov's statement, that the parliament must have the premier state in clear terms whether Kuznetsov's statement reflected the Cabinet's official point of view.

At a recent briefing Premier Edgar Savisaar said that "the government has not yet developed its position on the problem" (Kuznetsov's statements - BF [BALTFAX]) and that "the Estonian ministers have different views on it."

Russian Diplomatic Relations To Be Established

OW0810012991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the Estonian Foreign Ministry, the chairman of the International Political Department from Russia, Oleg Popovich, told a "BALTFAX" correspondent that diplomatic relations between Russia and Estonia would be started in the near future.

The first Baltic government to start diplomatic relations with Russia was the Latvian Government. On October 4th, the foreign ministers of the two republics, Andrey Kozeryev and Janis Yurkans, signed a protocol for beginning diplomatic relations.

Regarding the territorial problem between Estonia and Russia, Mr. Popovich emphasized that "Russia's reaction was expected, after the unilateral raising of territorial questions by Estonia."

As is known, on September 12th, the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet retracted its decree which had ratified the decision of union powers to give the Leningrad and Pskov regions of the Russian Republic parts of Estonian territory in 1945. Estonian radicals are now demanding the return of the land, but the Estonian Government has not yet followed this topic with any official statement. The leaders of the Leningrad region, as well as those living on the disputed territory, have categorically spoken against any possible Estonian pretensions to the land.

Mr. Popovich remarked that raising this question during the present political situation showed a lack of experience. "This only gives both Estonian and Russian extremists something to do," he emphasized. "I hope that the questions regarding territories will be decided in direct discussions between Estonia and Russia," Popovich said.

He also said that Russia waits with interest for the Estonian law on citizenship to be passed. He said that presently Russia was investigating legal projects on citizenship in Estonia which correspond with international norms. One cannot forget that the Russian-speaking population in the republic makes up about 38 percent of the entire population.

Regarding economic cooperation between Russia and Estonia in 1992, Popovich noted that the Russian Government did not "intend to make their partners stand on their knees." "I can say one thing with assurance: There will be no economic dictates from Russia," he asserted.

Parliament Backs Government Talks

OW0810121291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1110 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [7 October] Estonia's parliament dismissed a draft resolution submitted by a group of MPs [members of parliament] who wanted to appoint the parliament's chairman Arnold Ruutel to lead Estonia's delegation for talks with the USSR. Under the draft A. Ruutel was to sign a protocol on starting talks with the USSR and subsequently submit the composition of Estonia's delegation to the parliament for endorsement.

On September 16 Estonia's parliament cancelled the powers of the previous Estonian delegation led by its speaker Ulo Nugis because the goal to be pursued by the delegation—gain independence for Estonia—had been achieved, and instructed the government to continue the talks.

Later Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said that the talks will be conducted by 4 ministers from his cabinet: Foreign Minister Lennart Meri, Minister of State Raivo Vare, Economics Minister Jaak Leimann and Justice Minister Juri Raidla.

The authors of the draft resolution submitted on Monday argued that the USSR State Council was forming a new delegation for conducting these talks. According to them, under the circumstances Estonia should not engage in talks on this level.

This argument was strongly criticized by Estonia's Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Justice Minister Juri Raidla.

Many MPs opposing the draft said that to form a delegation led by A. Ruutel would not be wise since the powers and composition of the Soviet delegation were not known, since diplomatic relations with the USSR were not established and the objective of the talks itself was not clear. MPs decided that the government is quite capable of holding talks.

Latvia

Godmanis Summarizes Alma-Ata Talks

LD0810093891 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0530 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] The Latvian radio program for listeners abroad continues. To begin with here is part of the news conference given by the head of the Latvian Government, Ivars Godmanis. Godmanis gave an account on the results of the economic consultations of the former Soviet republics just held in the Kazakh capital Alma-Ata. [passage omitted]

[Begin Godmanis recording] The following was set out: that relatively similar positions were adopted by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Belorussia. Well, concerning Tajikistan and Turkmenistan I can only say that they fundamentally acted as Russia says,—they behaved very peculiarly, it could even be said. Well, unclearly, by not formulating their situation, their position fully. Krgryzstan endeavored more or less to take a stand, after all, that the questions must be tackled in a more or less sovereign manner. Georgia, for the most part, presented questions. Moldavia took the position that, well, this is approximately so that, when this concerns an economic accord, when this does not concern something like - you understand, at the basis of all that there is one misfortune. This is a fear of what will happen with the economic situation, if absolutely everything collapses. Partially I, too, have this fear, taking into consideration the economic cooperation that exists for us here in Latvia. And I shall say this very frankly, and without any political fear, because we must find our role as a bridge.

At the meeting between Vagnorius and Savisaar, Vagnorius had that idea. Therefore I do not want to appropriate it. There was talk that we could find such a bridge situation, that we would be an associate member in the West, because we would not be admitted as a full member there for several reasons, if only because they do not want generally to admit anybody any more.

In the best instance, if we become an associate member, it is very important for us to find how we should form relations, you see, here with the East. Naturally, everything depends on whether this economic accord will develop or not, but, honestly speaking, well, economically, this is, for example, a document proposed by Yavlinskiy's group and his specialists and, from a professional standpoint, it has of course been drawn up sufficiently well, sufficiently well.

But, well, it is not to be related, of course, to us, to the Baltic states.

But I think, if we are, after all, thinking about a bridge, it is very important for us to understand, as I already said, how to develop relations with the East.

And there are two options here. One is the bilateral agreements which, as it were, theoretically sound very simple to us, but in practice economically are entirely complex, if cooperation in the East reaches the stage of economic, union, let us say, if this is still further consolidated, there, if it is remade. However, I have doubts whether many republics would not retreat, or, you see, this economic concord accord [as heard].

If we would be able to join with some kind of a special, separate agreement on this accord it would be better if the entire Baltics do this together, because we ourselves are, of course, too small. We would be associated with both sides, as it were.

This, of course, is not simple. Because we shall not remain in the ruble zone, and although it was also

written that it would be possible to change over to a national currency, I think nevertheless that this has been written comparatively declaratively here.

In this respect we have to search for this bridge option. This was also one of the reasons why we went there. I believe that personal relations in the eastern policy have always played and play a huge role. These of course play a role in all politics, in the entire world, but especially in the East. And, by all means, I do not regret that we were there, because our relations have not been bad with the leaders of both the Ukraine and Central Asia. And I quite often think that these personal relations have quite often helped us and will help to settle one or another question connected with, let us say, purely practically, let us say, some raw material or procurement of materials, and conclusion of trade agreements and exchange. [end recording]

Lithuania

Shaposhnikov Seeks Forgiveness for Telegram

OW0710161691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A "BALTFAX" correspondent at the press center of the Lithuanian government was told on the morning of October 7th that the Vice Prime Minister of Lithuania Zigmas Vaisvila had had a phone conversation with the Soviet Minister of Defense Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Mr. Shaposhnikov excused himself for sending the telegram to Vytautas Landsbergis on the 4th of October, in which he suggested that representatives of the Soviet Defense Ministry meet with the corresponding officials from Lithuania to discuss questions which did not have to do with the immediate removal of troops from Lithuania. As is known, Landsbergis declined this invitation.

The Minister of Defense said that such a telegram in general should not be sent to the Baltic governments. Shaposhnikov promised to send a working group to Vilnius this week to decide problems of communicating military objectives and the removal of troops.

Landsbergis Refuses Meeting Request

OW0710162891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis declined the suggestion of the Soviet Defense Minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, for a meeting between a delegation from the Soviet Defense Ministry and a delegation of representatives from Lithuania.

Mr. Shaposhnikov sent a telegram to Mr. Landsbergis on October 4th, in which it was stated that the Soviet Defense Ministry finds it necessary to meet with the corresponding Lithuanian side to discuss certain questions having to do with the status of Soviet troops in Lithuania, in order to form the defense budget for 1992 and to regulate conscription.

According to Lithuanian radio, Mr. Shaposhnikov suggested meeting on October 8th at 10AM in Moscow at the Soviet Defense Ministry. As is already known, the Soviet side proposed beginning to remove its troops from Lithuania in 1994.

In Mr. Landsbergis' answering telegram, dated the 5th of October, it was eplained that an enumeration of questions was not a topic which should be discussed by Lithuania and the USSR, since Lithuania as before demands the removal of all Soviet troops by the end of 1991. As Landsbergis has underlined, only the most technical questions connected with the immediate removal of troops could be discussed.

In the telegram the head of Lithuanian parliament also remarked on the "declaration of putsch officers," which was taken on September 30th.

In the document, signed by officers and ensigns of the northern military town of Vilnius where parts of the Vilnius garrison are stationed, it is said in particular, that any decisions on restationing or disbanding this division before 1994 would be seen an inhuman. An order for their removal, reformation, or reorganization without a guarantee of social welfare, would be seen as a crime.

"This would give us a moral right not to fulfill such an order," the statement emphasizes.

The soldiers have expressed demands regarding social provisions for themselves and their families. They demand, in particular, to be given housing with normal standards for every family which is restationed, as well as providing the possibility for educational, medicinal and domestic services, etc.

In the statement at the officers' meeting, faith was expressed that politicians had enough state wisdom not to ignore the proposed demands, so as not to provoke the use of "answering steps."

In Mr. Landsbergis' opinion, this document characterizes the leadership of the military, concealing coup sympathizers. As is known, after the coup failed, leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania "evacuated" to the Nothern military town. In conjunction with this, Landsbergis asked Shaposhnikov to "make known what steps have been taken."

The head of Lithuanian parliament also called on the Soviet Minister of Defense to control the demobilization of Lithuanian youths, which, in his words, should be completed in two weeks time.

Shaposhnikov Apologizes

LD0810084191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Today Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov apologized about a telegram sent on 5 October to Supreme Council chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

In that telegram the Soviet minister invited the chairman to discuss the status of the army on the republic's territory, the principles of preparing the defense budget for next year, the call- up of the citizens to military service, and the order of military service. The minister invited a delegation of authorized parliamentary representatives led by the general director of the country's Defense Department to come on 8 October to discuss these issues.

Lithuanian parliament chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, replying to this telegram, noted that these issues were not those that should be discussed by Lithuania and the Soviet Union. He recalled that the basic demand by the Republic of Lithuania was to withdraw all the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union by the end of this year. It was noted that the technical side of this issue should be discussed by the Soviet defense minister and the country's defense department.

Lithuanian Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila this morning telephoned the Soviet defense minister, asking him for an explanation about this telegram. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov apologized and stressed that the telegram should not have been sent to the Baltic states. Radio Vilnius was informed by the government press bureau that the Soviet defense minister excused himself by saying that the telegram was sent to Lithuania through negligence by ministry officials. It was supposed to be sent to the Soviet republics.

Speaking to Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila, the defense minister also expresed his regret about misunderstandings that have taken place during Lithuania's takeover of Soviet military sites and property. He noted that this week he will inform and send to Lithuania a permanent working group to solve problems regarding turning over sites and the withdrawal of the army. [passage omitted]

Official Comments on Soviet Officers' Demands

LD0710130591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Virgis Miciulis from the Supreme Council radio studio]

[Excerpt] This morning Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius briefed journalists about the letter sent to Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis by officers stationed at the so-called snall northern town [military garrison in the northern part of Vilnius].

The letter voices the demand that representatives of the small northern town take part in the negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. The letter also states that officers at the small northern town are prepared to disobey the decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Lithuania and that their relocation by the year 1994 will be regarded as inhumane.

This statement was adopted by a meeting of officers at the small northern town and according to Ceslovas Stankevicius, this proves once again how dangerous the presence of Soviet troops in our capital city is.

Speaking about the Baltic Council conference, which took place on Saturday, Stankevicius stressed that all three Baltic states have a common stance regarding the Soviet Armed Forces. The presence of these troops in the these states is absolutely illegal. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn from all three capitals by 1 December. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Relations Renewed With Japan

OW0710144191 Tokyo KYODO in English 1427 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 7 KYODO—Japan and Lithuania reopened formal diplomatic relations on Monday after a 51-year hiatus.

Japanese officials said Muneo Suzuki, Japan's parliamentary vice foriegn minister, and Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algierdas Sandargas signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic ties in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital.

Suzuki is scheduled to visit Latvia's capital of Riga on Tuesday to reestablish bilateral diplomatic links.

Earlier in the day, Suzuki met Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis to discuss Japan's financial aid to the Baltic country.

The officials quoted Suzuki as telling the president that Japan plans to use the Group of 24 supporting nations for East Europe as a framework for providing assistance.

Supreme Soviet

Group To Prepare Appeals on Minority Rights

LD0510210291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] The issue of the need to conclude special bilateral accords between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and other republics on guarantees of rights and freedoms of Russian-speaking ethnic minorities was discussed at a sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian parliament today. In the view of people's deputies, the citizenship laws which are being adopted in many republics in a number of cases infringe upon the political and economic rights of ethnic minorities. A special group for preparing RSFSR Supreme Soviet appeals on this issue to the parliaments of other republics has been set up.

Khasbulatov Urges Debate on Economic Union

LD0510073291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Russia's signature should not be on the agreement on an economic community until it has been discussed by the Russian parliament, stated Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting head of the Russian parliament, at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session on 4 October. If our comrades in the government want to avoid yet another embarrassing situation, Khazbulatov stressed, they should submit this treaty to us. Then we will see whether we permit the government to sign it.

Yeltsin Adviser Responds to Khasbulatov Criticism

LD0710090691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast; presented by Mark Deych]

[Text] A month and a half has passed since the latest and umpteenth revolution, this time an August revolution. Democratic forces are in power, but instead of practical, specific deeds we have yet another scandal at the Russian Supreme Soviet, which occurred last week. I mean the statement by Ruslan Khasbulatov that Sergey Shakhray, state advisor to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, and Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary, bear responsibility for the rashness and unpopularity of a number of decrees and public statements by Boris Yeltsin.

[Begin recording] [Sergey Shakhray, advisor to the RSFSR president on legal policy] There are two sides to these remarks. One side concerns my professional obligations regarding the quality of the president's decrees, while the other side concerns the form in which Khasbulatov's statement was put at the news conference. As for the professional side, it is common knowledge that the president of the Russian Federation was forced to act quickly and resolutely and, consequently, it was necessary to find a legal form for these decisions. Unfortunately, a number of decrees did not undergo examination by a state advisor.

Incidentally, however, the president of the Russian Federation has already revised a number of decrees and some of these decrees have been implemented while others were a little over the top. In other words, they have been deemed by the president himself to be no longer valid.

[Deych] So you mean that the decrees which you have mentioned did not go through you?

[Shakhray] Yes, that is common knowledge. But, again, I would not put any special emphasis on this. Incidentally, I would be willing at any academic council to give answers on and defend the quality of the majority of the president's decrees, from the legal and juridical point of view. But I would like to draw your attention to the other side of this problem. Namely, the manner in which Khasbulatov raised the problem. [end recording]

[Deych] Sergey Shakhray went on to say that in his view Khasbulatov's attack could be explained by excessive nervous stress.

[Begin recording] [Shakhray] Personal outbursts either from me or from him, public outbursts are an impermissible luxury today, and I would simply like to close this topic. In other words, to shift discussion to a professional basis—to the committees and commissions and to parliamentary sittings.

[Deych] In the same statement, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that in his view both you and Burbulis should resign. What do you think about this?

[Shakray] I think that two people will judge the matter of resignation: first, the president of the Russian Federation and second, I myself, as presidential advisor. As for State Secretary Burbulis, I think he will decide for himself. I believe that today, no one holds on to the seats of power because today, power also means great responsibility. I think that we should not be talking about resignations today. Opportunities to work should be found, and here again I am forced to use the term impermissible luxury. To engage during a crisis in a dispute between the parliament and president, between the president and the leadership of executive power—by that I mean the Council of Ministers—is an impermissible luxury. [end recording]

[Deych] I would like to think that the incident has come to an end with that. I like Ruslan Khasbulatov and I like the way he is able to prevent the conflicts that are always arising at sessions. However, his last statement regarding Shakhray and Burbulis astonished me, for going by that statement, the Russian president merely signs what is prepared for him by his advisors and, after all, this is not the case. Meanwhile, the interrupted Fifth Congress of Russian People's Deputies will continue at the end of

October. Will it finally be constructive or will it once again get bogged down in futile debates? Democracy is, indeed, the opportunity for debate, but in moderation, nonetheless.

Commission Chairman on Missing CPSU Valuables

PM0210145291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 91 p 1

[Report on interview with General A. Aslakhanov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, by S. Sokolov; place and date not given; last two paragraphs are comment by S. Pluzhnikov: "Party Gold: Has the Dictatorship Run Off With the Diamonds?"]

[Text] Right now we are looking not so much for the CPSU's money, but for people with hard information. General A. Aslakhanov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, is one of them.

[Sokolov] Aslanbek Akhmedovich, have you been threatened since you announced in the press at the start of September that you have documents about a mechanism for "siphoning off" precious stones from Gokhran [State Repository for Precious Metals] through the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs and the Council of Ministers?

[Aslakhanov] At the moment there have not been any threats of reprisals against myself or my family (like those I frequently heard while working in the foreign currency department at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation). I got seemingly comradely calls of this sort: "Do not meddle in this business, why stir up the past, what good will it do, things might get nasty...." But you cannot hide the facts, the documents show that some workers from the Central Committee and Council of Ministers disposed of valuables from the USSR Gokhran—where, incidentally, no inventory has been made for three decades—without any control. Precious stones and antiques were bought up and given away at ludicrous theoretical prices.

[Sokolov] To illustrate this, General Aslakhanov gave the editorial office a six-page list of Central Committee "acquisitions." For example, according to instruction No. 3170 dated 18 February 1982, A.M. Samoylov, a CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs worker, got a gold ring with eight diamonds and three brooches with six, eight, and 12 diamonds for only 1,088 rubles.... Where these and other valuables have gotten to now must be explained to the prosecutor's office.

But surely Gokhran was not the CPSU's principal "gold-bearing seam"?

[Aslakhanov] Yes, we have information that over the last two years a significant proportion of CPSU funds went into private, state, and joint business. All traces of the money were actively covered up, and now it has already passed through five to seven pairs of hands. So the USSR Prosecutor's Office, which has started to investigate the CPSU's financial activity, faces a difficult task.

[Sokolov] What specific juridical problems will arise in returning CPSU money to the state?

[Aslakhanov] The first problem is that for the time being the party's activity has only been suspended, not banned. Therefore the government has no juridical basis for nationalizing or confiscating the party's property and funds. Second, there is an international rule whereby foreign banks can only offer to help locate money if it is proved that the money was obtained by criminal means. Only a court can prove this.

[Sokolov] Which means that the CPSU must be put in the dock anyway?

[Aslakhanov] An investigation of the CPSU's business and financial activity is essential. Only after this will our state have the right to seek the truth about the party's currency accounts abroad and be able to determine the true owners of this capital.

[Sokolov] Aslanbek Akhmedovich, I am not asking you to disclose the investigation's secrets, but nonetheless: Which tangled CPSU financial operations will the team from the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office have to unravel?

[Aslakhanov] First of all, the investigators will have to expose the overall system and mechanism determining the financial activity of the party and its front operations. They will have to assess the total volume of finances and find out how they were raised. Searches of organizations and enterprises in which these funds were invested are under way.

Incidentally

[Pluzhnikov] At a briefing, Andrey Grachev, former deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department and now leader of the USSR president's press service, stated that information about the existence of substantial sums of money in CPSU accounts in foreign banks "has no basis whatsoever."

Igor Fetisov, chief of the USSR Gokhran economic planning department, told us that in 12 years he had heard nothing about party gold and added: "If there were any machinations they would have been at the 'highest level.'"

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Plans To Present Disarmament Proposals

AU0810093491 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 8 Oct 91 p 2

[By Vladimir Markov: "Yeltsin Wants To Disarm Even More Massively"]

[Text] Moscow—As has become known from Russian Government circles, President Boris Yeltsin plans to present his own disarmament proposals, which might go a bit further than the ones announced by Mikhail Gorbachev on Saturday [5 October]. As DIE PRESSE has learned, these proposals are supposed to refer to strategic nuclear weapons, nuclear tests, and the reduction of the number of soldiers in the Armed Forces.

In a talk with Soviet President Gorbachev, the Russian president fully supported the disarmament steps worked out on Gorbachev's orders. At the same time, Yeltsin reportedly called for even more drastic measures. An experts group has been ordered to work out independent proposals by Russia. Until yesterday evening these proposals were being examined in Moscow by experts of the Union, Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

As early as today Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev might present these proposals to U.S. Under Secretary of State Bartholomew, who is in Moscow for consultations about the details of the latest disarmament initiatives.

Economic Minister Comments on Alma-Ata Agreement

OW0810020091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The minister of the Russian Economic Federation, Yevgeny Saburov, told an "INTERFAX" correspondent that on Saturday [5 October] the Russian Council of Ministers looked into the question of the Alma-Ata talks and the signing of the communique in Alma-Ata. Saburov said that the idea for creating a government commission with the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Oleg Lobov, to investigate the project for economic agreement, was developed in Alma-Ata. This commission should present its remarks and ideas on the project to the Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Saburov noted that a question about his signature on the communique in Alma-Ata was understood, firstly because he had signed it, and also because the Council of Ministers were offended that the president did not agree with them on Saburov's mission. "The council stated that they had not given me the right to sign that communique. That is so. But the leader of the government in Russia is the president, who had given me such a responsibility." Saburov said that Yeltsin supports the preparatory agreement.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev Suggests Practical Reforms

PM0710170091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 91 p 3

[Article by [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Strait is the Gate for Our Democracy"]

[Text] The democrats' victories in the first nationwide presidential elections in Russia and subsequently at the barricades around the White House in Moscow proved that there is a chance for Russian democracy. That chance lies in mass rejection of the system which the liberal Communists spent five years trying to save, followed in August 1991 by the orthodox communist putschists. Grounds for optimism stem from the Russians' mass desire to assimilate what is called pluralist democracy and a market economy and is associated with quality of life in the West. Finally, the unprecedented bloodshed of Stalinist times and the humiliating backwardness inherited from the Brezhnev period fostered an allergy to political violence and dogmatism.

But the glass is only half full. The recent dominance of the CPSU, accompanied by the weakness of other parties, meant that even where there were honest elections, the winners were for the most part not organized political forces, but individuals and diffuse movements. It is a good thing that a democratic market orientation predominates in the programs. But it is a bad thing that for the most part they are of a general theoretical, rather than applied, nature.

Meanwhile the question of who is implementing what reforms "here and now" is acquiring vital urgency. Before the winter, the civil and military-industrial bureaucracy could make another attempt to restore the old order by force, or the desperate masses to rise up against anything and everything. In either case the way will be opened for chaos, followed by a new dictatorship, most likely a national socialist dictatorship, across the boundless expanses of a nuclear superpower. Incidentally, the would-be Fuehrer Vladimir Zhirinovskiy today enjoys approximately the same half-scandalous, half-political fame in the USSR as Hitler did in Germany in 1932.

If, however, the market reform at last begins to acquire substance, it could certainly bring into entrepreneurship and the quest for a better lot in life not only the industrial bureaucracy, but also workers and even kolkhoz and sovkhoz farmers, not to mention private farmers. But in order to reach this long but encouraging stretch, we have to jump two main hurdles.

First, to define the geography of reform. Unfortunately, the conclusion of a new union could either become long-drawn-out, or lead to an unsatisfactory compromise. An agreement with the post-communist bureaucracy in the center and in many republics could preserve not only the outlines of the Soviet Union on the political map, which, in itself, is preferable, but also the old antieconomic, antimarket space. Whereas trade links between Russia's developing market economy and the administrative edict complexes in other republics are entirely possible, just as trade between East and West was possible, closer integration links with elements of centralized management would most likely develop into a struggle for survival between incompatible economic

management systems. And although Russia is incomparably more powerful in terms of economic potential, its incipient and still weak urge toward the market system could lose out.

Second, we need professional specialists capable of translating the people's mandate for transformations which Yeltsin received, into the language of practical decisions and measures. Obviously the emphasis should be shifted more boldly to young and middle-aged people with some administrative experience but who are not in the position of having to wage a constant and—experience shows—futile struggle against their own habits and ideas that are deeply rooted in the old system.

In view of the extent of the devastation left behind by communist domination, much must obviously be learned from the experience of U.S. aid in restoring Western Europe after World War II. I agree with those who believe that a mechanism modeled on the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) should be used to provide urgent humanitarian aid this winter. At one time this mechanism helped to set up structures which distributed aid from across the ocean and later became a training school for cadres and the bulwarks of development under the Marshall Plan. It is also necessary to stimulate the formation in Russia, as in the other republics, of responsible government structures capable of functioning in collaboration with Western experts.

Naturally, the proposed approach is far more complex than the simplistic Western formulas on the lines of "What we should do for Gorbachev," or for Yeltsin, or even for both together. Maybe it will also not find favor with our advocates of all-around consolidation and global financial aid to the Union of sovereign, if not soviet, republics from the seven, the 12, or any other number of Western states. But strait is the gate, the gospels say, that leads to paradise.

Kozyrev Opens Meeting With Private Businessmen

LD0510101791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Veretin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—A meeting held today at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Ministry was aimed at giving impetus for the creation of a mechanism which would take into account the interests of business circles in the foreign policy of Russia. Representatives of the Association of Russian Banks, the Russian Commodity and Raw Material Exchange, the Association of Joint Ventures, and other private commercial structures operating in the republic took part in the meeting on "Entrepreneurship and the Foreign Policy of Russia".

RSFSR Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, opening the meeting, said that the Foreign Ministry of Russia intends to give support to private business with all the means that its disposal. In the opinion of the head of the Russian Foreign Policy Department, although the ministry is not supposed to involve itself in commercial activities it is capable of carrying out a state policy which would boost the development of ties and the emergence of business circles on the international arena.

He expressed the idea of a possible unification of foreign policy with foreign trade activities. According to him, it is possible in particular to transfer some of the functions of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties to the Russian Foreign Ministry, and functions which are connected with commercial activities to private enterpreneurs.

Representatives of Russian business circles which spoke at the meeting supported the idea of decentralizing foreign economic activities and spoke in favor of liquidating "petty regulating" by the side of the government and for coordinating joint actions.

Ryabev Explains Parliament Chamber Chairman Duties

LD0510092891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1738 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Speech by Nikolay Ryabev, new chairman of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Parliament Soviet of the Republic, on 2 October at Russian parliament building in Moscow; from the "Parliamentary Diary" program presented by Lyudmila Semina—recorded]

[Text] It is evident to all, and this has been said on more than one occasion, that the executive authority after the election of the president has rushed off on a course of strengthening itself and fully implementing the enshrined powers. This is right and must be welcomed; however, there is one but: Is this taking place within the framework of legality and in the interests of profound economic and social reforms?

This process, as you know, is beginning to take on a negative nature. I mean the exceeding of the powers of executive authority and also its serious shortcomings. The appraisal of work by the Council of Ministers which we made speaks clearly about this. At the same time the existing system of checks and balances—albeit fairly ineffective, but it exists—in essence is inactive today, both on the part of the Supreme Soviet and on the part of the Constitutional Court, which as you know is not an elected body. I have in mind a Supreme Soviet drained of blood. How many radically minded deputies do we have who, having been professionally prepared, one can say, over 18 months, thus gaining experience and knowledge of the work, are leaving the structure of executive authority? This is a negative fact, not only for the Supreme Soviet, but it is negative, in my view, for the deputy himself—but this is a separate issue.

Also, what role does the head of the chambers, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, play here? In essence none. We have never heard the principled positions of these officials of our parliament regarding preserving the composition of the chambers and improving their quality. This is an area of work which I view as a necessity for

strengthening the sovereignty of the Supreme Soviet, otherwise we will get an impotent legislative authority, an unreformed judicial authority, and a executive authority developed onesidedly and naturally becoming more bureaucratic.

Therefore, I see the second most important task of the chairman's work as organizing the activities of the chamber, its commissions, and all-round cooperation in organizing the work of the Supreme Soviet.

Yakovlev Discusses Democratic Reform Prospects

LD0610080391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] The Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR] is preparing for its inaugural congress, scheduled to be held at the end of November, reported one of the MDR leaders, Aleksandr Yakovlev. Entering the polemics with Nikolay Travkin, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, he rejected accusations that the MDR is the party in power.

"I will not join any party," said Yakovlev. As for the parties which belong to the MDR, these, said Aleksandr Yakovlev, follow their own rules. The aim of the movement, according to Yakovlev, is to create a single democratic space. He said that interest had been expressed by, among others, the Baltic states, the Armenian All-National Movement, the parallel socialist party in Kazakhstan, and to a certain extent, Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan.

Yavlinskiy Addresses Democratic Party Session

LD0810050691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] A sitting of the directorate of the Russian Democratic Party was held over the past two days. During discussion, resolutions were adopted on the current situation, on interethnic relations, and on the social protection of military servicemen. Amendments were introduced into the organization's statute, and a new revised party program was adopted. The third congress of the Russian Democratic Party has been scheduled for 3 December. The sitting also considered problems relating to the preparation of the party for the elections to the executive organs of power. Special personnel training courses have been set up for this. During the meeting Nikolay Travkin delivered a report on the political situation in the country, and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy reported on the economic aspects of social development.

Patriotic Forces Council Holds Routine Session

PM0810091791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Alarm About the Future"]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Patriotic Forces Coordinating Council has been held in Moscow. A political assessment was given to the events of 19-21 August and the principles for action in the new conditions were determined. In view of the deteriorating economic situation and the forecast famine and cold winter, the coordinating council instructed its analytical center to present in the near future a finalized program for overcoming economic chaos.

The coordinating council expressed profound concern at the situation of Russian and so-called "nonindigenous" peoples in the former Union republics. The session discussed the disintegration of the Army, the reduction in the officers' corps, and the possibility of affording them social protection. Serious concern was expressed in speeches devoted to anticonstitutional actions aimed at creating a national guard as an instrument in the struggle for power.

Constitutional Committee Complains of Blocked Work

LD0610040391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 3 Oct 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Oct (TASS)—Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Constitutional Committee, today accused some groups of Russian parliamentary deputies of attempting to block the commission's work. In a conversation with journalists, he commented on the situation that arose yesterday and today at the commission's meetings when there was no quorum for the discussion of amendments to the draft of the Russian Federation basic law, and when a number of deputies demonstratively left the hall.

According to Oleg Rumyantsev, an attack on the draft constitution was undertaken by representatives of "Russian Communists," those who can conditionally be called national-autonoms, and also by deputies who consider that if the draft is not created by them, then it must be hindered.

"The new constitution," the commission secretary noted, "is called on to be a stabilizing factor and to introduce a balance into federative relations and relations between parliament and the president. But if people see that this document, important for the destiny of the country, is blocked in the Supreme Soviet, then those who defended the White House during the August putsch will come here, this time with calls to dissolve the reactionary parliament."

The destructive position of those forces leading to the disruption of the adoption of the constitution, in Oleg Rumyantsev's opinion, may place the stability of the situation in Russia under threat. In this case, he noted, the president elected by the people will be forced to use his legislative initiative right and put the draft basic law

to a national referendum, thus bypassing the Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Former Prisoners Call For Criminal Code Change

OW0510021891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the prisoners pardoned by President Yeltsin's decree, Aleksey Sherbakov, has claimed that as long as the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] criminal code remains as it is new political prisoners could appear. At a press conference on Friday the amnestied prisoners reported that there were still people detained in prison, convicted under Article 64 of the RSFSR criminal code—betrayal of the motherland. Sherbakov said that this article could only be accepted if it referred to a conspiracy to seize state power. In this way according to Sherbakov, the members of the State of Emergency Committee could be tried under Article 64.

Another political prisoner amnestied by Yeltsin, Oleg Smirnov, drew attention to remaining political prisoners in the USSR, convicted for refusing to serve in the armed forces for religious or other grounds. Smirnov said they are prisoners of conscience.

Foreign Economics Minister on 'Hard' Decisions

LD0610082391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Video report by correspondent Rybin, including recorded remarks by Gennadiy Filshin, Russian minister for foreign economic relations, on 4 October; from the "Vesti" newcast]

[Text] [Rybin] Gennadiy Filshin has assumed his duties as Russian minister for foreign economic relations. The notorious case of the 140 billion was in reality a soap bubble sent up at that time by the Soviet special services in their attempt to destroy Russian authorities. In his new post Gennadiy Filshin intends to firmly stand by his principles in foreign economic relations, and is convinced that in a situation wherein this country could very soon become bankrupt, the hard and unconventional decisions are needed.

By the way, the losses from breach of contract for exports of food and consumer goods at that time amount to $9 billion.

[Filshin] We are not giving this to ourselves even now. In other words, now is the time to implement this concept. And I think that this could become one of the directions which will save us in this transitional period from grave social and economic consequences.

[Rybin] Recently Filshin's name has been connected with the success of the interrepublican conference of the foreign economic ministers of the sovereign states. Today 11 out of 15 republics have their signatures under agreements on the presevation of a single customs area, on the internal convertibility of the ruble, and on the joint payments of the external debt. Gennadiy Filshin has given today his preliminary estimate of Russia's share in these payments. This was made on the basis of an objective and fair analysis.

[Filshin] Russia's share in respect of all indices is over two-thirds—in other words, somewhere in the region of 70 percent

No Government Authority Seen for Economic Talks

LD0510163991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] The Russian Government has not given any authority for talks or consultations to be conducted with the sovereign states on the draft treaty for an economic community. A Russian Information Agency correspondent was told this by Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] press and mass information minister. He made this pronouncement in connection with the statement by Yevgeniy Saburov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ivan Silayev, and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, that the prepared economic agreement between the sovereign states had been virtually approved by Boris Yeltsin and would be signed by him. According to the minister, the government, in connection with the Alma-Ata meeting, had instructed the five Russian ministers to prepare the draft of a new political union and an economic agreement with the sovereign states and to present these documents for examination by the RSFSR Council of Ministers before 15 October, and then, after discussion, to forward them to Boris Yeltsin for examination.

Decree on Armed Forces Draft, Discharge Submitted

LD0510085191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] As a TASS correspondent was informed in the USSR Ministry of Defense press center, the draft of the USSR president's decree on discharge from the USSR Armed Forces and on the next draft of citizens for active military service was sent to the president's apparatus on 13 September. On instructions from Mikhail Gorbachev, it has been passed to the republics for further elaboration.

Now this process is being completed and a decision has been made to the effect that the question about the dates and the procedure of the draft will be submitted for discussion to the USSR State Council in the nearest future.

Lobov Announces Work on Defense Industry Program

LD0510134791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2125 GMT 3 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Yekaterinburg, 3 Oct (TASS)—"We have decided to begin preparatory work on the Russian defense industry conversion program with the Urals, which is one of the most important Soviet "arms factories," said Oleg Lobov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers deputy chairman, to a TASS correspondent. Lobov was working in Yekaterinburg today, meeting the leaders and collectives of the military factories. "We need practical opinions since this is not the first year we have discussed the problem theoretically," noted Lobov. "Today, when the policies of the Soviet republics which have become independent are different, Russia vitally needs conversion so as to become self-sufficient in goods and foodstuffs previously obtained through cooperation within the Union."

Soldiers' Mothers Demand Firing of Hazers

OW0710214291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, the leadership of the "Soldiers' Mothers of Russia" Movement demanded the speedy removal from the Army of all commanders in whose divisions and subdivisions soldiers had unlawfully died.

The movement's chairperson, Lyubov Leemar [spelling as received], sent telegrams to the Soviet defense minister and to the general prosecutor of the Russian Republic, in which she demanded their attendance at a meeting of the movement in Moscow. The telegrams described the poor state of health of some of the participants in the hunger strike which was started five days ago by activists in the movement near the House of Soviets. The hunger strike is a protest against the Soviet president's naming Anatoliy Alekseyev to the position of chairman of the State Committee on Soldiers' Affairs and the Affairs of Their Family Members.

At the same time, "INTERFAX" has heard reports that on Sunday, a union of soldiers' mothers from the Chelyabinsk region, Magnitogorsk, Sverdlovsk, and Siberia sent a message to the Soviet president. This message contained a protest against the actions of the leadership of the movement "Soldiers' Mothers of Russia," and in particular against L. Leemar. The message accuses her of "pursuing mercantile interests," disrupting the work of the presidential committee, and speculation by means of the soldiers' problems."

Air Crews Retain Right To Strike Over Pay

LD0510071791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0442 GMT 5 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Dzyuba]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Oct (TASS)—The time limit set by the Russian Government for resolving air crews' problems ran out at midnight last night. Russian television reported late on Friday night that the strike committee at Vnukovo Airport had informed the All-Union Association of Flight Crews' Trade Unions that it was retaining the right to strike, if the issue of pay, pensions and social guarantees worrying the air crews were not solved in the near future.

At 0200 the TASS correspondent contacted the central air control office of the Ministry of Civil Aviation. According to shift leader Valentina Grinchenko, flights are going according to schedule. The Ministry of Civil Aviation central air control office has no reports of forthcoming suspension of flights in any airports. It remains to hope that the air crews' misfortunes will be examined in the near future and that thousands of passengers will not have to sit out a strike waiting on the ground.

Flight Personnel Group Holds Founding Conference

LD0710153991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2300 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Summary] A founding conference of the Association of Flight Personnel took place in Moscow. The association has announced that it was established, it elected its leading bodies, and it discussed tasks for the immediate future. (Anatoliy Alekseyevich Kochur) was elected president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Association of Flight Personnel. He told correspondent Andrey Nikiforov that he aims to set up a single powerful organization of flight personnel and to provide proper protection of the rights and interests of the association's members.

Local Affairs

Situation Deteriorates in Chechen-Ingushetia

Legislators Accused of Coup

LD0710132991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The situation has sharply deteriorated in Chechen-Ingushetia because the temporary Supreme Council of the republic, consisting of 13 deputies, has declared itself the only body that has the right to act as the legislative authority until the coming elections. By majority vote, the council has recinded as unlawful all the decisions and legislative acts of the executive committee of the Chechen congress. The executive committee in turn has publicly accused the legislators of attempting a coup. The National Guard has taken control of the KGB building.

Council Seeks Return of Land

LD0710154791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] An Ingush people's council has been set up at the third congress of the Ingush people which ended in the capital of Chechen-Ingushetia today. This body will

represent the interests of Ingush people living on the territory of the former Soviet Union until a legal parliament of the Chechen-Ingushetia Republic is elected. The council is charged with attempting to achieve the return of lands which have belonged to the Ingush people since time immemorial, which were taken from the people in 1944, and which are now part of neighboring North Ossetia—including the right-bank section of Vladikavkaz.

Rutskoy Receives Council Appeal

LD0710183891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The provisional Supreme Council of Chechen-Ingushetia today adopted an appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Soviet Republic [RSFSR] on recognizing its powers as the only legislative body of the republic and handed it over to RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who is in Groznyy on a peacemaking mission. Such a measure, our correspondent reports, is dictated by the acute exacerbation of the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia, and by the usurpation of power by the executive committee of the Chechen Congress for the period of the preparations for and the holding of the nationwide elections. It became known that yesterday, that public organization decided to create in the rayons of the republic revolutionary committees and additional armed formations to reinforce its power. All of that cannot but worry the inhabitants of the republic.

On 12 October an all-republican rally will be held in Groznyy as a sign of protest against the anticonstitutional action by the executive committee of the Chechen Congress.

IZVESTIYA Update on Events

PM0810094991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Seizure of Chechen-Ingushetia KGB"]

[Text] Groznyy—Events in Chechen-Ingushetia are becoming more and more menacing.

The attempt by the Pan-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee to confer the functions of supreme leadership on itself, the seizure of the mass media, and the creation of illegal armed formations have aroused condemnation from democratic forces. The interethnic situation is heating up: An executive committee of deputies of all levels of Ingush has proclaimed the Ingush Republic within the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Cossacks have announced the creation of the Sunzha Cossack district within the 1928 borders.... The breakup of the republic will inevitably result in territorial claims that can hardly be settled peacefully in these conditions.

Formations belonging to the Pan-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee seized the Chechen-Ingushetia KGB building 5 October. According to information from the Chechen-Ingushetia Council of Ministers, shooting was heard in the vicinity and one KGB staffer sustained a serious bullet wound. General Dzhokhar Dudayev, chairman of the Pan-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee, announced the dissolution of the Chechen-Ingushetia KGB as an organ destabilizing the situation in the sovereign republic. SEVERNYY KAVKAZ reported this.

A group comprising Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy, RSFSR Foreign Minister A. Dunayev, and Russian KGB Chairman V. Ivanenko is now in Chechen-Ingushetia. It is holding talks with the Pan-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee in an attempt to settle matters politically.

Chita Officials Blame Journalists for Bread Panic

LD0710012191 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fomin]

[Text] Chita October 6 TASS—Tens of thousands of residents of Chita spent this Sunday morning standing for hours in queues to buy bread.

White and brown loaves of bread have become just as scarce in this region southeast of Lake Baykal as milk, meat, cereals, sugar and noodles. Bread ration cards have been introduced in many districts of the region.

Specialists believe that the situation has resulted from neglecting the operation of bakeries in the region: Their equipment is often past repair, bakers are yet another scarcity, and supplies of water and electricity are most irregular. On the other hand, demand for bread has increased manyfold lately in the wake of the dramatic downward dip in other food supplies.

Local officials, however, disagree with experts. They say panic buying was provoked by journalists of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper and national television, whose reports on the disastrous situation on the local food market prompted residents to store up rusks for future use.

Karelian Supreme Soviet Session Ends Early

LD0610055491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0734 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Petrozavodsk, 3 Oct (TASS)—The extraordinary session of the Karelian Supreme Soviet ended ahead of schedule without examining a number of important issues on the agenda. According to SEVERNYY KURYER [NORTHERN COURIER] newspaper, this was caused by the refusal of the session, convened a week ago, to discuss the question of confidence in the republican Supreme Soviet presidium, proposed by the town soviets of Petrozavodsk and Kostomuksha.

In response, 18 deputies blocked the work of the session, refusing to vote on all the other matters debated. They believe that the existing system of state bodies in Karelia was created as a window dressing to conceal the omnipotence of the CPSU structures and the administrative-economic apparatus. The Supreme Soviet's foundation is made up of managers of enterprises and state farms, and heads of former party committees who, in the view of the group of deputies, occupy conservative positions.

"Life will force us into radical reforms regardless, even the most inveterate conservatives," says a statement published by the deputies. "We fear that this may take place too late, while the price of delay gets higher by the day."

Komi Democrats Seek Dissolution of Supreme Soviet

LD0610132691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Democrats in the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] are seeking the dissolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet and government. This is one of the priority aims contained in the program of action of the coordinating council of the Komi SSR Association of Democratic Organizations. Among the others are the enactment of a democratic law on elections and their conduct on a multiparty basis, the formation of a professional parliament, and the privatization and transfer of land to the full ownership of those who work on it.

In order to attain its aims, the coordinating council intends to hold rallies, and even strikes, on the eve of the opening of the republican session of the Supreme Soviet. As a last resort the organization intends to arrange a petition among the republic's residents, appealing to the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to introduce direct presidential rule to the territory of the Komi SSR to allow the creation of new democratic structures of state power.

Plan for Kostroma Nuclear Power Station Abandoned

PM0810105391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Peaceful Atom Not Needed By Kostroma"]

[Text] The Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry has decided to stop financing the construction of the Kostroma Nuclear Power Station. The dialogue that has been going on for years between the oblast leadership and the Union ministry has apparently come to an end. The decision was undoubtedly influenced by the active stance of the public and Russian people's elected representatives.

Prisoners Stage Riot at Krasnoyarsk Colony

LD0710084391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0525 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Khots]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, 7 Oct (TASS)— The conflict at strict regime colony No. 6 in Krasnoyarsk is continuing. Everything started late on Sunday evening, when the guard detail detained a drunken convict in the yard. A large group of convicts managed to free him. Then the unrest spread to the other blocks, where a total of over 2,000 prisoners are detained. The colony administration had to withdraw the staff to outside the colony.

As day dawned today, the prisoners set fire to the furniture workshop which is within the colony. As before, they are demanding a meeting with representatives of the authorities, the procuracy, and people's deputies, in order to set forth their demands. The territory of the colony is surrounded by subunits of Internal Troops and special unit militia detachments.

Mayor Popov Aide Wants Fewer Moscow Deputies

PM0710095391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1,2

[Report by V. Kaysyn: "While the Masters Are Squabbling, the Serfs Are Freezing. Afterword to the Rally in Defense of Gavriil Popov"]

[Text] It became clear from the first minutes of the work of the seventh routine session of the Moscow City Soviet, which opened 23 September, that the conflict between the deputies and City Hall is continuing. With a majority of 266 votes, deputies voted that Moscow City Mayor G. Popov and Vice Mayor Yu. Luzhkov should report on Wednesday about the city's preparation for the winter and the provision of food for the Muscovites. However, the will of the deputies was not fulfilled. The mayor and vice mayor did not speak even at a rally protesting "the provocative campaign against G. Popov," which took place in the evening of 25 August on Sovetskaya Square.

On the same day I met with Moscow City Soviet Deputy S. Shornikov. He said that G. Popov prefers resolving political problems rather than economic ones.

"The Moscow City Soviet and City Hall have different ideas about methods for the country's development," the deputy said. "These may lead to open confrontation between City Hall and the deputies. To avoid this, the representative and executive authorities should sit down at the negotiating table, clarify their positions, and make the Muscovites aware of them. Let the citizens themselves decide the future of the democratically elected organs of power by means of a referendum. A compromise solution must be sought today because the majority of powers are being transferred into the hands of the city hall. The Pontius Pilate syndrome threatens.

"We cannot resolve our financial problems today by raising prices on vodka, sugar, and tobacco, as City Hall intends. The situation in the capital is complex enough as it is, and a cold winter is ahead of us. Neither Popov nor Luzhkov have yet reported on the city's preparation for it or on food provision for the city's inhabitants."

After the rally I carried out a brief interview with M. Shneyder, aide to the mayor of Moscow.

[Kaysyn] Mikhail Yakovlevich, can the intensification of the conflict between the deputies and City Hall be attributed simply to the fact that Internal Affairs Main Administration Chief V. Komissarov has taken up his post?

[Shneyder] No, the conflict was also exacerbated by the differences of opinion between the representative and executive power structures. Both the Union and Russian soviets are adapted to pre-August conditions of existence. Following the defeat of the putsch, the situation in the country has changed radically and is continuing to change. In the new situation, the old power structures are not able to reflect the people's problems properly. It is hard to imagine how the soviets would have behaved during the August events if a city hall had not been created.

The Muscovites have understood that the deputies are more concerned about showing off than solving the electorate's problems, and that they are only interested in their political image.

[Kaysyn] Do you think the deputies and City Hall will find a compromise that will lessen the tension in the political situation in Moscow?

[Shneyder] Not in the immediate future. The section of citizens who have received nothing from the new Moscow government or from the reforms taking place have joined the deputies. The establishment of price limits, which is aimed at preventing monopolization by the market for the sale of goods has evoked the dissatisfaction of many entrepreneurs, including the Russian goods and raw materials exchange.

[Kaysyn] It appears that today is not the best time for the liberalization of prices on vodka, sugar, and tobacco articles.

[Shneyder] The issue at stake is the introduction of free prices in the framework of an experiment. Muscovites will be able to buy two bottles of vodka a month at state prices, and a certain quantity of sugar and tobacco products. Above this norm these goods will be sold at free prices, that is, market prices. This experiment is designed to stimulate production and increase the flow of these goods to the capital. And if we obtain an effective result, then we will expand the range of goods. Compensation is also envisaged.

[Kaysyn] How can the conflict be resolved?

[Shneyder] We propose to clarify the degree of the Muscovites' trust in City Hall and the soviets with the help of a referendum. The results will not have legal force but if the majority of citizens support City Hall, then "Democratic Russia" will reserve the right to make a legislative initiative to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on urgent elections to the soviets at all levels. While there are 500 deputies in the Moscow City Soviet, they will scarcely get round to agreeing on anything. We believe that the Moscow Soviet should consist in no more than 50 deputies. [Shneyder ends]

I have presented readers with the points of view of both conflicting sides. Time will tell who really cares about people's interests and who is simply pursuing power. And for the time being one thing is clear: While the masters are squabbling the serfs are freezing. In other words, until the city hall and the Moscow City Soviet find a common language, the Muscovites' lives will not improve.

Muscovites Support Yeltsin Departyization Decree

LD0610115691 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—During a telephone opinion poll, taken by the Mnenie (Opinion) Sociological Service, Muscovites unanimously approve of the Russian Federation president's decree on the departisation of state agencies, institutions and organisations, and of the decisions to suspend the Soviet Communist Party activities in the USSR and to nationalise the party's property.

In each specific case, more than three-quarters of respondents regarded those decisions as the right ones.

Hovewer, in response to the question of whether it is necessary to hold an official trial of the Soviet Communist Party, only 41.6 per cent of respondents gave an affirmative answer.

The opposite opinion is held by 36.3 per cent of respondents. The rest were unable to give a definite answer.

Trade Committee Chief Views Food Supply Shortages

PM0710142191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Report by L. Lashchenko and V. Avdeyev; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Lashchenko] The search for food and waiting lines are phenomena with which we have long been familiar. Specialists from Moscow's Trade Committee say that we will be faced with many problems in the near future.

[V.V. Zhilinskiy, deputy chairman of Moscow City Trade Committee] Today we raised with the city government the question that we obviously need to supply extra vodka to Moscow and that maybe we should open some stores. So that if people needed to buy vodka for an occasion, there would be two or three stores selling it in certain parts of Moscow. That is, vodka obtained from other regions at different prices. Although our price on vodka remains stable.... Despite the complex situation: After all, the food industry is subject to shortages of spirits and everything else. We are trying to hold out. We are trying to honor our commitments to the Muscovites and provide all the necessary quantity of vodka to be sold on coupons.

[Lashchenko] What is the situation regarding tobacco?

[Zhilinskiy] Well, this year we are not having any problems regarding tobacco. We are not reducing the sales quota. All the tobacco articles for which coupons have been issued will be supplied.

[Lashchenko] What about confectionery?

[Zhilinskiy] As far as confectionery is concerned, we are already attending to the problems of the new year. We are now rescheduling deliveries intended for October and November to the new year period so that children do not have to go without and are not aware of our difficulties.

And now let us look at the sparkling wine question. Here too there are many big problems, since Moscow's factories cannot supply the volume they supplied last year, and Georgia has totally refused to supply us with sparkling wine. We intend to go to Azerbaijan, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Rostov, that is, all the sparkling wine producing regions, in order to determine at least on paper what we can supply the Muscovites for the new year.

[Lashchenko] I suppose we will not see any cheese in the near future?

[Zhilinskiy] You are right, we are having problems with cheese. Today we are supplying cheese only to public catering enterprises and enterprises which supply mainly children's and medical institutions. What can I say, we have been trying to buy cheese mainly in the Baltic republics.... The former Baltic republics.... Today we have two shops which trade at contractual prices....

[Lashchenko] So what are the prospects?

[Zhilinskiy] There are no prospects regarding cheese.

[Lashchenko] What about vegetables?

[Zhilinskiy] A decision was made to buy some potatoes in Poland. This contract has been signed so, in my opinion, Moscow will have potatoes.

Moscow Still Facing Problems With Sugar, Eggs

PM0710132391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2214 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Report by L. Lashchenko and V. Avdeyev; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Lashchenko] Many people are asking themselves in alarm: Will there be a famine?

[V.V. Zhilinskiy, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Trade Committee] No, there is enough meat in Moscow today. There is even more than last year in storehouses and depots. But we have other problems concerning supplies to Muscovites. This applies to sugar. And today the government of Moscow and our Moscow trade committee are doing all they can.... First and foremost we have extended the validity of all coupons through 1 November. Tomorrow the Mantolinskiy sugar refinery is going to start operations. It will supply 200-250 tonnes of extra sugar. And as for all the talk last month and this month to the effect that sugar prices will be raised.... Well, there is no increase for the moment.

At present there are also problems with eggs. I must admit that there are problems with the supply of eggs to the capital from Moscow Oblast poultry farms. That is to say, they are supplying 5 million, 6 million, or 6.5 million eggs, whereas 9 or 10 million are needed. I have to say that we are having to cope with this very complex situation with practically no help from what are now sovereign states, so to speak. For example, the Ukraine and Belorussia are both making plans on paper but, regarding supplies of eggs for the city, only Moscow Oblast poultry farms are helping out.

Muscovites Disapprove of Dismantling Monuments

LD0710155391 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 7 TASS—The majority of Muscovites disapprove dismantling monuments to revolutionary leaders in Moscow, according to a public opinion poll, commissioned by the Russian National Bank from the "Opinion" sociological service.

Even after the Dzerzhinskiy monument taken apart, 58.5 per cent said it should have been left intact. More than 60 per cent said monuments to Marx and Lenin should remain.

However, as many as 30 per cent advocate the dismantling of these monuments. Less than 10 per cent said they were totally indifferent to the fate of graven images.

Deputy Mayor 'Will Not Allow' Bread Coupons

LD0610114291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, at the request of an RIA correspondent commented on the rumors which are being spread that

bread coupons will be introduced in the city as of the middle of October. According to Shcherbakov, the consumption of bread has risen sharply, in connection with increased prices for vegetables and potatoes. He underlined, however, that there are sufficient reserves of flour in St. Petersburg, and that the bakery combines are working according to normal schedules.

The situation is being monitored by the city authorities. We will not allow bread coupons to be introduced in St. Petersburg, the deputy mayor of St. Petersburg stressed.

Trade Unions Threaten Action for Rights

OW0510181491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] St. Petersburg trade union leaders urged the Russian president and parliament to take immediate action to stabilize the economic situation and provide a social net en route to a market economy. If this warning is not heeded, the unions may have to resort to industrial action. An appeal passed by the Presidium of the Council of the Municipal Trade Union Federation criticizes foot-dragging on the implementation of Yeltsin's election programme, the promises of the Supreme Soviet and of the republican government. "Still today, we do not have a law on income and savings indexation, and prices are soaring uncontrollably. The privatisation law that has been passed restricts the rights of the work collectives. All of this undermines popular confidence in the only legitimately elected power." Things are working toward strike situations at a number of enterprises, says the appeal.

Industrialists Want End to Central Control

OW0510013891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The directors of 55 enterprises belonging to the military-industrial complex of St. Petersburg made a statement of their intention to release their enterprises from the control of the Soviet Defense Ministry, and to make their enterprises part of the municipality of St. Petersburg and the City Property Fund. The directors have also called on the leaders of the municipality to cooperate in "realizing this initiative, the essence of which is the transformation of industries with a military purpose into an association with a civilian character."

At the office of the municipality, an "INTERFAX" correspondent was told that the municipality has responded positively to the directors' statement. The vice mayor of St. Petersburg, Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, has started immediate consultations with the initiators of the appeal on this topic. It is expected that the municipality will contact the Soviet defense minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, next week, with the desire of legalizing this transfer of enterprises.

According to different appraisals, these enterprises produced 70 percent of the orders of the Soviet Defense Ministry addressed to the Petersburg military-industrial complex.

St. Petersburg Group Studying Memorials Removal

OW0510015491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] St. Petersburg organized a committee on Friday to develop a concept for either maintaining or removing the memorials with historical-revolutionary themes in the city. According to information from the municipality's press service, the concept should be presented by November 15th. It is expected that up to 30 percent of memorials to revolutionary leaders will be taken down by the end of the year. All of them will be accommodated at a special museum-square in the center of the city. "A boarding-house will be built for these memorials. It will be a great spectacle," said Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak.

In the meantime, a sociological poll shows that St. Petersburg society is about equally split between those in favor of removing the revolutionary memorials and those opposed.

Novosibirsk Workers Organize First Congress

LD0710035191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 5 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Yelmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk (Western Siberia), 5 Oct (TASS)—Representatives from almost 300 enterprises have today gathered at the first congress of the working people of Novosibirsk. This increased activity among the working movement in this major industrial center in Siberia has been prompted by a sharp deterioration in living standards.

As the chairman of the congress's organizational committee has stated, an electrician from an experimental factory of the Siberian section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Frol Ananin—they are planning to put forward their own candidates for elections to the posts of deputies for the local bodies of authority. [sentence as received] The topic of discussion will be support for the removal of state control, not however through privatization, but by means of handing over plants and factories to the collectives so that they can be transformed into people's enterprises [narodnye predpriyatiya].

Several labor collectives from the town have called for a boycott of the congress. In their view, the program goals of the union of working people which has been set up are opposed to radical reforms in society's political and economic life.

Minister Encourages W. Siberian Oil Investment

LD0510184491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] If Western investors want to join in on opening and exploiting the western Siberian oil fields, they must apply only to the Russian Government. This is Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Economics Minister Yevgeniy Saburov's opinion:

[Begin Saburov recording] We say welcome to all the investors and guarantee the security of their property. [end recording]

Talking about granting foreigners the right to own property, Saburov said:

[Begin Saburov recording] It is necessary to understand that during the transition from socialism to capitalism many difficulties will develop, including those of a psychological nature. There are many today who still say that the Russian Government should not be selling off the country's riches to the foreigners. However, I am convinced that such attitudes will change. This question will be solved in a year or two, at the latest. [end recording]

Tatarstan Decree Creates State Council

LD0510164491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev issued a decree on creating a state council under the president of the republic of Tatarstan. This body's responsibilities, according to the decree, include major questions of internal and foreign policies along with interaction between the republican and local authorities.

Republic Ends Talks With Tatarstan Officials

LD0710083891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Consultations between a working group of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of the parliament and the government of Tatarstan on the preparation of interrepublican summit talks have ended. The Russian parliament delegation was headed by Dmitriyev, chairman of the subcommittee for issues concerning interrepublican relations, regional policy, and cooperation. The Tatariya delegation was led by its vice president, Likhachev. Fulfilling the goodwill of the Russian leadership, Dmitriyev, speaking at a news conference, noted Russia intends resolving all problems only on the basis of talks. I think that the task of ensuring the preparation for talks between the RSFSR and Tatarstan is fulfilled in principle, he said.

Tatarstan Politicians To Form Islamic State

OW0510020291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the Tatarstan Islamic Democratic Party, Fanil Akhmadiev, has informed "INTERFAX" that a group of public and political figures in Tatarstan have declared their intention to work for the creation of an Islamic democratic state, Bulgar-Tatar, on the territory of the republic.

According to Mr. Akhmadiev, the idea of creating an Islamic state has widespread support among political figures in the republic, including deputies at all levels. However, he said that he could not name the supporters as the communist dictatorship had not been broken in Tatarstan and they feared repression.

Mr. Akhmadiev also noted that the peoples' militia is at the moment compiling a list of supporters of the creation of the Islamic Democratic State of Bulgar-Tatar.

Official Opposes Opening of Vladivostok

OW0510020691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the Primorskiy Regional Executive Committee, Vladimir Kuznetsov, has announced in an interview with "INTERFAX" that the benefits of opening Vladivostok to foreigners will be minimal while the economic and political situations in the country remain unstable. The decision to open Vladivostok to foreigners from January 1st, 1992 was taken by the Russian president a few weeks ago.

Mr. Kuznetsov thinks the next step should be the creation of a free economic zone in the region. He supports the concept proposed by a group of specialists from the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, UNIDO. These proposals were accepted in full two weeks ago by the chairman of the Interrepublican Committee for Economic Cooperation, Ivan Silayev. Documents are now being drawn up by a group of Russian Government experts that will judicially consolidate plans for the creation of a free economic zone.

Kuznetsov himself has been made one of the directors of an association of about fifty Japanese firms interested in the Russian Far East, based in Niigata. Fish processing plants, coal extraction and timber processing plants were identified as major areas of interest. Talks are also being held with South Korea on the introduction of a circular flight route Seoul-Vladivostok-Khabarovsk-Seoul.

Media

Fate of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Viewed

Republic To Initiate Proceedings

LD0610114691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0630 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] The Russian Ministry for the Press and Information has initiated proceedings against the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper. In the opinion of the department of Mikhail Poltoranin, during the memorable coup days of August the newspaper permitted calls to overthrow the existing regime by means of force. Now the fate of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA will be determined by the courts.

Rumors of Closure Unfounded

PM0710142391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[Article by S. Oganyan under the "Talking Aloud About Rumor" rubric: "No Objections to the New SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA"]

[Text] "Have you heard that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is to be closed again?"—that is the question which readers have been ringing in with all morning.

"It is utter nonsense," was the exasperated response of M. Fedotov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister of press and information, to whom we turned for clarification. "I have heard those absurd rumors, too."

"But it is not simply rumor: The radio has just reported this, citing RIA....

"And no doubt even the day it is to be closed was given?"

"Yes, 9 October!"

"That makes everything clear now," the deputy minister laughed. "Clarification is indeed needed. Our ministry has actually applied to Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court for a winding-up order for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. But not the current newspaper, which was founded by the editorial office trade union organization and which was legally registerd by the RSFSR Ministry of Press and Information, but the one which was founded by the CPSU Central Committee and registered at the USSR State Committee for the Press.

"As far as the date of 9 October is concerned, that is the expiry day for the registration period of the newspaper DEN, whose staff picketed our ministry yesterday. We told them that a decision—positive or negative—would be taken in due course.... And it is altogether a good thing that you did telephone. Thank you."

Incidentally, M. Fedotov reported that a similar order will be sought against a number of other former newspapers, including PRAVDA, organ of the CPSU Central Committee, and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee. These apparent formalities are essential to prevent the former owners having the legal right to restore the newspapers under the same name. We are thereby looking after the rights of the collectives which have become founders of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA or RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, the deputy minister stressed.

Moscow Court Rules Against Paper

PM0710185891 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from "RIA and Our Correspondents Report" column under the "Cable" rubric: "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry Versus SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA"]

[Text] On 3 October Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court accepted an application from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Press and Mass Media for the cessation of the publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on the grounds that it has on several occasions in the past year been in breach of Article 5 of Section 1 [pervoy chasti] of the USSR Law on the Press.

New Moscow Late-Evening Newspaper To Appear

LD0510134391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Oct (TASS)—"VECHERNYY KLUB" [Evening Club] is the name of a new newspaper for late-nighters that has been established—without any fear of competition—by journalists of "VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA," the capital's oldest daily newspaper. In the city with a population of 9 million people it has a circulation of 540,000 copies; thus many other publications have reason to envy the number of loyal readers it has.

This independent newspaper is now feeling the squeeze in other ways. The rapid pace of life generates too much news. And an unusual solution has been found in the shape of a newspaper that appears, so to speak, in two parts.

As in the past, the first edition of "VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA" will appear around 1700 and will contain all the latest news of the life in the city, the country, and the world at that moment. Then toward 2100-2200 VECHERNYY KLUB will go on sale in the kiosks. For the present it will be published three times a week and have four large-format pages.

As is appropriate for a club, its regulars can expect the latest news, meetings with interesting people, items of

entertainment, and news of cultural life. The newspaper's plans include encouraging the rebirth of club life in Moscow, something that was so popular in days gone by.

DEN Workers Protest Registration Refusal

LD0610045791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 3 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lyakin]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Oct (TASS)—Those working in the editorial office of DEN [DAY] newspaper today picketed the building of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. The reason for holding this action was the ministry's refusal to reregister their newspaper.

"In essence, we are now the only opposition newspaper," stated DEN editor Aleksandr Prokhanov. "The editorial staff do not intend to assume a conformist stance like PRAVDA and other publications which have become 'democratic' overnight. We are protesting the demand to prove our loyalty to the Russian government, which is being foisted upon us. We consider this degrading for us. If our demands are not met, then we will become a dissident newspaper."

Mikhail Fedotov, RSFSR deputy minister of the press and mass media, stated: "DEN newspaper has already violated the law on the press twice. DEN needed to reregister with our ministry in connection with the change in its founders. In particular, these founders are the USSR Union of Writers which has now become the Russian Union of Writers. Without this new certificate of registration, the editorial collective issued an edition of the newspaper, without indicating all its details."

Fedotov also considers that his ministry should check whether this publication has observed Article Five of the USSR law on the press about calls for overthrowing the state order using force, and about advocating war. In the words of the deputy minister, the law reserves the right for his department to reach a final decision on this issue.

Fedotov promised that the issue of the reregistration of DEN newspaper will be resolved over the month as is laid down by the law.

UTRO Employees Strike Over Printing Rights

LD0610084791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Subscribers to Stavropol's UTRO newspaper on sociopolitical topics will not be receiving their latest issue. The paper was to have been printed last night but on the eve of its release the editorial office went on strike demanding that its founder, the Russian Komsomol Kray Committee, truly give it the right to reflect different views.

Pamyat Leader Begins Broadcasts From Apartment

LD0810034391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network at 2141 GMT on 4 October, during the "Television News Service" program, carries a three-minute report by correspondent M. Saprykin from the Moscow apartment of Pamyat leader D. Vasilyev.

Saprykin says that Vasilyev has started broadcasts using a radio transmitter installed in his home. Vasilyev says in an interview that the station's task is to broadcast to the "long-suffering, exhausted, destroyed, and spat-upon" Russian people to enable them to "resist the yellow press, yesterday communist and today democratic." Saprykin says Pamyat members had trouble picking up the station even in their studio.

Radio UKV-Ekspress Broadcasts in Astrakhan

LD0810054991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in Russian 1330 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Radio UKV-Ekspress is a commercial news and entertainment station for all tastes. It is located in the town of Astrakhan on the lower Volga. Radio UKV-Ekspress operates every day, several times a day, on VHF-FM only on a frequency of 69.9 mHz. The founders of the station are the small enterprises of the Volga and the Rus-svyaz-inform state communications and information technology enterprise. The station's address is: Ulitsa Pobedy, 53, Astrakhan, Soviet Union. Unfortunately the post code is not given. The telephone number in Astrakhan is 5-26-64. This has been gleaned from a newspaper clipping sent to the DX-Club by Yelena Sharova from Astrakhan.

External Afairs

Republican Movement Organized in Crimea 19 Aug

LD0610101291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Report over video by correspondent L. Alekseyev, including recorded remarks by Yu. Meshkov, deputy of the Crimean Supreme Soviet; place and date not given; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Monitored in progress] ...demanding that an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet be convened, which has been organized by the Republican Movement of Crimea.

[Meshkov] The Republican Movement of Crimea was born on 19 August this year when a group of deputies of the Crimean Supreme Soviet tried to force their way to Foros to the arrested president. The acts of 1954 laid down a mine under Ukraine-Russian mutual relations, the acts which transferred Crimea from Russia to the Ukraine. In order to prevent any further exacerbation of conflict between Russia and the Ukraine, the Republican Movement of Crimea proposes to unequivocally and

unconditionally abolish the 1954 acts and then to conclude a treaty with both Russia and the Ukraine, thereby avoiding confusion and strife in their mutual relations. [video shows banners on the street: "We demand that an extraordinary session of Crimean Supreme Soviet be convened," "Crimea's future should be decided by Crimean residents," "No to ethnic extremism"]

Kiev Considers Creation of Independent Crimea

LD0610101691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] There are certain politicians, first of all representatives of the deputy corps of the Crimea, who consider that autonomy within Ukraine is insufficient for them. Now their aim is the creation in the Crimea of an independent Crimean state without Ukraine and Russia.

The declaration of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous Republic, published in today's issue of the KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper, points out, and I quote—we don't think it justified to raise today an issue on revision of frontiers. This is very pleasant to hear, but there are forces on the peninsula which put up this issue very insistently, fanning up the people's passions.

International Affairs

Kozyrev, Bartholomew To Discuss Arms Proposals

LD0710110191 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Rostislav Gertsev]

[Text] Moscow October 7 TASS—A meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology Reginald Bartholomew, which will take place here on Monday, will concentrate on nuclear arms reduction issues in the context of George Bush's recent initiatives and the proposals that Mikhail Gorbachev put forward to match them.

TASS was told at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry that the Russian leadership's point of view on these issues will be set out at the meeting. It is expected that Russia will come up with additional, more radical proposals for nuclear arms reduction.

Bartholomew heads the U.S. delegation that arrived in Moscow to hold Soviet-U.S. consultations on nuclear arms cuts. The consultations began on Sunday morning.

Defense Adviser Arrives in Washington 5 Oct

LD0710023991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington, 6 Oct (TASS)— Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] state adviser for defense and chairman of the committee for preparing and carrying out military reform under the USSR State Council, arrived in the American capital on Saturday evening. He will take part in a seminar on the theme of "Changes and Continuity in Soviet Military Policy" which opens on Monday in Washington (Federal District of Columbia—TASS). The seminar is being held by the American research organization the Center for International Security and the Soviet association "Army and Society."

Ministry Official on Opening Embassy in Estonia

OW0810120691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1110 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Oleg Popovich who represents Russian diplomacy in Estonia's foreign ministry has told BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent that, when diplomatic relations between Russia and Estonia are established which is to happen in the near future, the Russian embassy in Estonia will be opened in a building in old Tallinn that used to house the Soviet Embassy before 1940.

There are no problems in connection with proving the right of ownership since the documents evidencing the purchase of the building in question by the Russian government in 1921 are in the archives.

The right to own the embassy building is not disputed even by the central structures, since it was bought before the USSR was formed (in 1922: BF), and there are no documents that would testify to its transfer to the USSR.

Nevertheless O. Popovich doesn't rule out the possibility that the building will also house envoys from other republics should they express this wish.

"I think that Russia might reach an agreement with other republics under which they will be able to open their embassies or missions in the same building", said O. Popovich.

It is presumed that when diplomatic relations are established officially, the staff of Russia's embassy will number 10 persons.

Landsbergis Arrives in Moscow for 'Short Visit'

LD0710023191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent S. Milyanchikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Vytautas Lansbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, arrived in Moscow today on a short visit. He was met at the airport by Andrey Kozyrev, Russia's minister of foreign affairs. Not just a couple of years ago, even a couple of months ago this kind of thing

was simply impossible. But now, following recognition of Lithuania's independence, this is one element of diplomatic protocol that you simply cannot get away from. Two sovereign states are embarking upon a new level of mutual relations. The only thing is that citizens of sovereign Lithuania still fly by our own Aeroflot and endure all our national inconveniences. Though in their pockets they have, if not foreign currency, then universal coupons which in the opinion of experts will become the prototype of a national currency. And as far as Vytautas Landsbergis is concerned, a few hours after his arrival he left for the next foreign country on his list. [video shows Landsbergis shaking hands with Kozyrev; shots of airport passenger handling facilities; handful of banknote-like documents]

Ministry Official Interviewed on Foreign Policy

OW0610063091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1300 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Interview with Ivanov, director of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Ministry, by station reporter Mikhaylov; place and date not given; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program—recorded]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] A graduate of the International Relations Academy, Ivanov is an expert on Japanese affairs. He had worked at various posts under the Soviet Foreign Ministry, including the Soviet missions stationed in Japan and Indonesia, before he was transferred to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry.

What are the differences between the foreign policies of the RSFSR and the USSR, and what foreign policy issues are under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR?

[Ivanov] We do not intend to (?overstep) the Soviet Foreign Ministry. However, the Russian Foreign Ministry wants to play an active role in formulating the general line pursued by Soviet leadership with regard to such international issues as disarmament, security, and solutions to international conflicts. In a nutshell, we want to play a prominent role in mapping out the general line on issues related to Russia. As for delineation of authority beween organizations under the Union and its republics, including the jurisdiction over foreign policy issues, we are still in the initial stage of working out a solution. It is obvious, however, that an overwhelming majority of issues related to bilateral relations will be handled by the republics. Such issues are referred primarily to economic and trade cooperation and cultural exchanges.

[Mikhaylov] What are the priorities of the RSFSR's foreign policy in Asia?

[Ivanov] First, the republic will work hard to develop relations with countries sharing a common border. We have already established ties with some Chinese provinces, Japan, and Mongolia; and have carried out cooperation with the two Korean states. Under the new situation, when the republic becomes a sovereign state, an independent entity under international law, such ties will be elevated and developed further. Of course, we shall not forget those Asian countries which have maintained a longstanding and traditional relationship with us. We are interested in cooperation with them. Therefore, we have absolutely no ideological preferences as far as our stand on developing ties with foreign countries is concerned. Outmoded conventions and regulations simply do not exist.

[Mikhaylov] What issues does the the RSFSR Foreign Ministry handle today?

[Ivanov] As is known, Khasbulatov, acting president of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited Tokyo recently. We regard his visit as a follow-up of the agreements reached during Soviet president Gorbachev's visit to Japan. We have worked concertedly with the Soviet Foreign Ministry in implementing these agreements. In addition, we have signed agreements with Mongolia on cooperation in (?surveying) and on economic and trade cooperation. The RSFSR foreign minister's visit to Ulaanbaatar is now on the agenda. We are studying the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea, and economic, trade, and other relations with Japan.

Irkutsk Negotiates Taiwanese Barter Agreement

LD0510163791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Summary] Irkutsk Oblast has negotiated the Soviet Union's first agreement with Taiwan via the recently founded Soviet Far Eastern Fund. The first stage of the agreement is for a barter exchange of raw materials for food and consumer goods worth up to $40 million. The second stage is for Taiwan to invest capital in the oblast economy.

Kuzbass Coal Field Plans Ties With German Bank

LD0710153391 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By TASS corespondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo October 7 TASS—Deputy chief of the Kuzbass coal field in western Siberia has described the Dresden bank's agreement to invest in the joint capital and exchange correspondents' accounts with the local bank as opening a window on Europe".

Direct links with Germany can help accelerate mutually beneficial commodity exchanges in conditions of a free enterprise zone which is being developed in this Siberian industrial region.

The first steps along the path have been made by the Kuzbass customs. Charter flights between Germany and

western Siberia, that were rarely performed until recently, have now become routine.

Activists Rally Against EBRD Bankers' Visit

OW0510021991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] About 150 activists from the National Patriotic Organisation of St. Petersburg demonstrated on Friday in protest against a visit to the city of a delegation of experts from the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], who had come to assess the economic situation in the region and draw conclusions about the necessary financial and commercial help the bank could give to the Petersburg region this winter. The delegation intends to hold talks with the Mayor's Office and the city council as well as with representatives of major industrial structures and new commercial and stock exchange associations.

The demonstrators claim that the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development "want to make residents of the city slaves to their mercenary interests."

Ukraine

Kravchuk Assesses U.S., French, Canadian Trip

LD0610135591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk returned to Kiev today [4 October] after his 12-day long trip abroad. [passage omitted]

Today Leonid Kravchuk held a press conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists on the completion of his trip. He said that interest in Ukraine was extremely great:

[Kravchuk in vernacular fading into English report] The main reason for this was the fact that Ukraine proclaimed its independence and the forming of its foreign and internal policy, said Leonid Kravchuk.

(?But) much attention during the meetings with Western leaders was focused on (?perspectives) pertaining to the recognition of Ukraine. Leonid Kravchuk's statement to the effect that during these meetings there was not even a hint that Ukraine will not be recognized was assessed positively by journalists:

It was stated everywhere that the referendum will be held on a democratic basis. Everybody expressed the hope that it will be a success and Ukraine will be recognized as an independent state. This was declared both in Canada and the United States and yesterday in Paris by the French President Francois Mitterrand. He stated that there will not be any hesitation on the part of France when the referendum is over to recognize Ukraine as a democratic state.

Dwelling on the meeting at the United Nations organization and speech at its General Assembly, Leonid Kravchuk singled out that this was the first speech by the head of the Ukrainian state, member of the United Nations, in the history of this organization:

Prior and after the speech there was an analysis of Ukraine's problems, readiness of the United Nations organization to render us a greater assistance. We spoke of the participation of the United Nations commissions and committees in the affairs of Ukraine. The problems of Chernobyl occupied a prominent place. The United Nations organization recognizes Ukraine as a big state. We had meetings with such figures of financial circles as the director of the International Monetary Fund, representatives of such leading companies as [name indistinct], Coca Cola, [words indistinct]. They displayed an interest as to what conditions are being established for investment of foreign capital, our law on foreign economic activity, and the protection of foreign investment. Signed were contracts and protocols for holding conferences and meetings, said Leonid Kravchuk.

He also dwelt on his impressions of meetings with the Ukrainian diaspora. Their interest was enormous. People flew in by special planes from different corners of the United States for the meeting. People in all ways wanted to express their support to Ukraine. One Canadian of Ukrainian origin expressed the wish to present 100 acres of his land (?with buildings) for a Ukrainian Embassy in Canada:

There were hardly any ideological accusations as to our past, he stressed. Everybody said that we must look to the future and forget about the past. We must now unite and set as our loftiest aim the establishment of a Ukrainian state. Everybody in Canada, the United States, and France perceived the process of establishing a Ukrainian state as a natural process, and they perceive our stand with respect. The world expects a full-fledged democratic legal state called Ukraine to appear on the map of the world.

Then Leonid Kravchuk was asked a question on Ukraine's attitude to the problem of a nuclear potential on the territory of Ukraine. This issue was naturally discussed during the meetings with the leaders of the western countries:

Our stand on the issue is clear cut. Ukraine, the people of which have suffered from the Chernobyl disaster, have a moral right and will come out for annihilation of all nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical. It supports the agreements which have been signed, among them the agreement between the United States and the USSR on the reduction of strategic nuclear forces for a period of seven years. Ukraine will demand direct participation in future agreements and treaties as a state which has nuclear weapons on its territory. We are against nuclear arms transference from one republic to another. There must be status quo. We cannot agree that one republic take upon itself all nuclear weapons. We cannot ignore the interests of our own security either. Yesterday, during a talk with the French President Francois Mitterrand, this subject took much time and we said that our stand is a logical one, said Leonid Kravchuk.

There was also a question to the effect whether the official circles of the Western countries took up with the fact that the union no longer exists. Leonid Kravchuk answered:

There doesn't exist such unanimity in the state (?circles) that there is no union any longer. Gorbachev gives one information, Yeltsin a different one, Nazarbayev still a new one, (?and the) embassy [as heard] its own. Certain people say that ahead we are going to have a happy powerful state, the name of which is the Soviet Union, others say that it has disintegrated. Naturally they cannot determine their position exactly.

U.S. Envoy, Kravchuk Meet

LD0610093191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 5 Oct 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev, 5 Oct (TASS)—Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk today received U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Robert Strauss. The ambassador arrived in Kiev as part of a delegation of U.S. presidential representatives taking part in the ceremonies here connected with the Babiy Yar, tragedy which occurred 50 years ago.

A conversation took place during which the guest was acquainted with the processes taking place in the political and economic life of the republic at the present time. The ambassador was particularly interested in issues concerning the Ukraine declaring itself to be an independent state, as well as the forthcoming referendum and election of a Ukrainian president, which is to take place on 1 December.

It was emphasized that Leonid Kravchuk's recent visit to the United States has assisted in a better mutual understanding being reached between the Ukraine and the United States, which will undoubtedly find a positive reflection in the further development of mutually beneficial Ukrainian-U.S. cooperation.

Economic Working Group Assesses Development Ideas

LD0510131991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Fokin has chaired the first session of the Ukraine's Economic Policy Committee, which is attached to the Cabinet of Ministers. This is the permanently functioning collegial state organ headed by the prime ministers.

It consists of state ministers and ministers, heads of certain departments, Ukrainian people's deputies, economic experts and prominent scientists, economy managers, and representatives of the state authorities power.

Opening the session, Fokin emphasised that the most urgent task faced by the Ukraine's state conomy will be the working out of the concept and strategy of the independent republic's economic policy in conditions of the transition toward market relations and their regulation by the state. [passage omitted]

The session closely examined the problems of working out the concept of Ukrainian economic development in connection with adopting the act of proclamation of independence.

Fokin Favors Signing Alma-Ata Economic Agreement

LD0510034591 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Grigoryev]

[Text] Kiev October 4 TASS—"The Ukrainian delegation has vised a draft economic agreement. Although the document has serious flaws, I'm convinced it should be signed. The agreement will ensure the stability of our economic life," Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin told UKRINFORM-TASS.

Commenting on the results of the meeting of 13 republics's leaders in Alma-Ata, Fokin said republics should establish bilateral and multilateral ties with each other while the agreement will be amended and thrashed out.

Fokin said the statement signed in Alma-Ata enables the republics "to conclude agreements with each other, map out plans and state orders for 1992" before the economic agreement is signed.

He said this was the first independent meeting of republican leaders to discuss economic issues.

'Text' of Gorbachev Babiy Yar Message Reported

LD0510214991 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Follow the full text of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's message to participants in a ceremony devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Nazi massacre of Jews at Babiy Yar during the Second World War:

"Dear fellow countrymen and countrywomen

"Ladies and gentlemen

"Half a century has passed since the awful tragedy that occurred here, on the old Ukrainian land, which became a cradle of history and statehood for the three fraternal Slavic peoples. A little more than half a century separates us from the time when Hitler Nazism began preparing a world totalitarian order. And a little less than half a century - when states and peoples united to defeat the aggressor and condemn national socialism as a criminal ideology of genocide and terror.

"A memory about irretrievable losses is passed on from one generation to another. It knows no bounds.

"Babiy Yar is a suburb of the Ukrainian capital. Like Katyn, Oradour, Lidice, Oswiecim and Buchenwald, it is not simply a geographical point but an appalling symbol of that senseless war. Babiy Yar has become the place of grief, lament and repentance.

"Babiy Yar reminds one of the price that people paid for blindness, political mongering and shortsightedness of some rulers and for violations of all norms of humanness by others.

"Babiy Yar urges modern politicians to be vigilant and remember that they have been granted power to serve people and that immoral politics should no longer exist in the world.

"The Second World War inflicted innumerable losses. Their scale is shocking. Among tens of millions of victims were almost six million Jews - representatives of the great nation dispersed over the whole planet. Babiy

Yar shows that Jews were among the first Nazi victims both in our country and in the whole Europe," the message said.

"The Nazi speculated on the lowest feelings of envy, national intolerance and hatred. They used anti-semitism as a major means to infect people's minds with chauvinism and racism.

"Venomous sprouts of anti-semitism sprang in the Soviet Union. The Stalin bureaucracy, which publicly dissociated itself from anti-semitism, in fact used it as a means to isolate the country from the outside world and strengthen their dictatorial position with the help of chauvinism.

"The years of perestroyka and renovation have radically changed the social atmosphere in the country. However, manifestations of anti-semitism that still exists in our everyday life play into the hands of some reactionary circles.

"The declaration of human rights adopted by the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and legislative enactments of the Soviet Supreme Soviet have strengthened the legal basis of the democratic development of inter-ethnic relations and stiffened sanctions against nationalistic excesses.

"The right to emigration has been established. But I should say frankly that we, society, regret that our compatriots emigrate and the country loses many gifted and enterprising citizens. I say this in reproach to those public and administrative structures, which have failed or did not want to use perestroyka to create an atmosphere of intolerance and condemnation of manifestations of anti-Semitism. [sentence as received]

"This ceremony in Babiy Yar is a mournful event but it inspires hope that we, our renovating society are capable of learning lessons from tragedies and errors of the past," the message said.

New Protests Urge Crimea's Return to RSFSR

LD0710224591 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Simpferopol October 7 TASS—The Crimea has once again become the venue of protests against the 1954 decision transferring it from the Russian Federation to the Ukrainian Republic.

Protesters, who describe the decision as unlawful and say it was made in contravention of the will of the Crimean people, have united in the January 20 movement and held a founding conference in Simferopol.

On January 20, 1991, a referendum was held, in which a majority favoured the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Republic directly subordinate to Moscow.

The movement urges a new referendum on the withdrawal of the Crimea from the now independent Ukraine.

The Presidium of the Crimean Supreme Soviet admitted in a statement a few days ago that the 1954 act had been adopted without taking the will of the people into account.

However, the statement says, it is the wrong time to raise the question about revising borders. Along with this, the Presidium does not rule out the possibility of a referendum if the political situation improves.

Donbass Oblast Council Seeks Autonomy Referendum

PM0710140591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from TASS, RIA, and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA roundup: "Question of Autonomous Status for Donbass"]

[Text] The Donbass International Movement Central Council is insisting on holding an oblast referendum in the very near future on the granting of autonomous status within the Ukraine to Donetsk Oblast. The leaders of this social organization have proposed that the question be included on the agenda of the next oblast soviet session.

Economic Agenda Tops People's Party Congress

LD0810035191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] The leaders of the People's Party of Ukraine have held their first session since it was officially registered a few days ago. Says the deputy head of the party, (?Veshlava Kozherniko), the ideas of our party may seem to be quite similar to the ideas of the other democratic parties. Our priority is the economic program. We also want to create here in Ukraine a civil society with a high living standard and where the human rights are the focus of the government policy. We put the main effort in the economic support of the people throughout the development of economy. A lot of our party members are the entrepreneurs working in the cooperative industrial enterprises. Members of our party spend 2 million rubles every year on charitable actions. Our party stands for politically and economically free and independent Ukraine. (?Leopold Dobranskiy) was nominated the presidential candidate from our party at the party's convention.

Poll Cites Presidential Candidates Popularity

PM0710142591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled unattributed report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA roundup]

[Text] According to figures from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, the ratings of the main contenders for the republic's top state post are as follows:

Leonid Kravchuk—32.7 percent, Vyacheslav Chornovil—8.1 percent, Igor Yukhnovskiy—6.8 percent, Vladimir Grinev—3.4 percent, Vladimir Yavorivskiy—2.9 percent, Levko Lukyanenko—2.6 percent, and Yuriy Shcherbak—1.5 percent.

Preparations for Forming Republican Army Noted

OW0810025591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2215 GMT 7 Oct 91

[From "Soviet Business Report": transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has launched preparations for forming a republican army. Early estimates say the Ukrainian Army will have 450 thousand men. It will take the Ukraine, the USSR's second biggest republic in terms of economic potential two years to build the Army.

A final decision to form an Ukrainian army is to be made by the republican parliament.

Moldova

Dnestr Leader Reaffirms Independence Commitment

PM0810082091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 91 p 3

[Vladimir Aleshin report on telephone interview with Igor Smirnov, chairman of the Dnestr Moldavian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic)—date not given: "Out of Prison—To Work"]

[Text] Igor Smirnov, chairman of the Dnestr Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], who has been released after a month's imprisonment in Kishinev, was contacted on the telephone by our reporter, who asked him some questions.

The leader of the Dnestr region said in the telephone conversation that his release is the result of resolute actions by the people of the republic, who demonstrated their will for independence and their commitment to their chosen path. I. Smirnov noted that the Moldova leadership was finally forced to show realism. People in Kishinev have apparently realized that nothing can be achieved by force, diktat, or the threat of arms.

He also assessed highly the efforts of Russian parliamentarians to resolve the crisis in Moldova, the position of A. Yakovlev and G. Burbulis on this question, and the moral support of the Russian public.

The chairman of the Dnestr Moldavian SSR reaffirmed that the Dnestr region is and will remain an independent republic where the rule of law and the rights of the individual, whatever his nationality, are paramount. The republic is prepared, however, together with Moldova and Gagauzia, to become an equal member of a federal formation on the territory of the former Moldavian SSR.

Dnestr Ukrainians Appeal For Assistance

LD0610041891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Horban]

[Excerpts] A region in Moldova situated along the Dnestr River has declared itself an autonomous republic. Immediately after 24 August, leaders of that region visited Kiev and even posed a question on the possibility of the Dnestr Republic becoming part of the Ukraine. Such is the current confusion. Some are running out of the Ukraine, while others are begging to enter.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine decided not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the neighboring sovereign state, but to render, based on the means available, assistance for the development of culture and education of those Ukrainians who live in the region.

A delegation of Dnestr Ukrainians arrived in Kiev. It is headed by Oleksander But, a Moldovan people's deputy, first deputy chairman of the Kamyanets rayon executive committee, and chairman of the local Ukrainian cultural society. Lyudmyla Samoylova, our correspondent, met with him.

[Begin recording] [But] Our delegation, representing Ukrainians of Kamyanets rayon of Moldova, arrived in Kiev with an appeal to the people of the Ukraine. We address the people of the Ukraine in this difficult and troublesome time for assistance, support, and protection.

[Samoylova] Could you tell us something about the history of the region and the Ukrainians living there?

[But] Nearly 400,000 Ukrainians live in the Dnester region, while in Moldova as a whole the number is 600,000. They are not immigrants, but a indigenous population. The region once belonged to former Podolye province. Some Ukrainian villages there are 500 years old. [passage omitted]

Ukrainians have recently experienced misfortunes. Ukrainian schools were closed nearly 30 years ago. In local libraries no Ukrainian books can be found. Ukrainian culture is on the decline. Only one Ukrainian school functions in Moldova for 600,000 Ukrainians, while in the Ukraine there are 111 Moldovan language schools for nearly 400,000 Moldovans. We have no opportunity to watch Ukrainian television or listen to Ukrainian radio. There are no Ukrainian intelligentsia, papers, magazines, or artistic collectives. Offensive remarks have been addressed to us that we are a Russian-speaking lot, thus alleging that we are people with no homeland. [passage omitted]

The main thing in our appeal is that we don't want you to solve political problems. What we want is to be visited by representatives of Ukrainian movements, parties, women's organizations, and veterans' societies. Come to us as guests, see how we live, what pains we suffer. [passage omitted]

We appeal to the contenders for the post of president to include in their election programs ways for solving the problems of Ukrainians in the Dnestr region. You have to understand that sovereign Ukraine cannot be happy without allowing its mighty shoulder for its brothers and sisters to lean on who are in distress and who live next door. [Passage omitted]

We experience a bitter taste from the fact that Russia sends to Moldova one delegation after another. They come out for our protection as well, calling us Russian-speaking subjects. At a session of the Moldova Supreme Soviet I advised them not to call us Russian-speaking, for we are not—there are Ukrainians, Gagausens, and Bolgarians. Ukrainians would like to be defended by our own people and our homeland. [end recording]

Dnestr Settlement Discussions Continue

OW0810010891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday in the Dnestr region city of Benderi the work of the coordinating commission for settling relations between Moldovans and Dnestr region occupants continued. The commission is working "behind closed doors." But, as an "INTERFAX" correspondent has learned, today the question of giving the Dnestr region "special socio-economic and cultural status" was addressed

In the opinion of on-site observers, talk is of ,ae possibility of creating a free economic zone in the Dnestr region, and also of prolonging the transitional phase on its territory before having to introduce the lav on the official state language of the Republic of Moldova.

Elections vere held yesterday in Benderi for the new mayor of the city. The results of the election are not yet known, but judging from the statements of specialists, the former chairman of the city council, Gimn Pologov will not be chosen again for the post. Many voters feel that after Mr Pologov's almost one month stay in a Kishinev prison accused of "separatist activities," that he has changed his views in relation to the here-proclaimed Dnestr region Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, in preference for maintaining the unity of the Republic of Moldova.

Shortages Undermine Export Production Potential

PM0810101391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0630 GMT 6 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by M. Zotov, V. Molchanov, from "Moldavizolit" plant]

[Text] [063410] This is the "Moldavizolit" superplant. A top secret defense industry installation which at one time had at its disposal "know-how" resulting from industrial espionage. Even then it already enjoyed the favor of Ivan Silayev, the current Union premier.

It is the only plant in the country that produces printed circuit boards for our entire electronics industry.

[A.N. Briksa, "Moldavizolit" plant chief engineer, identified by caption] More than $70 million have been spent on modernizing and retooling the plant. Large-scale production facilities have been created to meet the requirements of the whole Union, also including export potential. However, as a result of unavailability of a whole series of raw materials and instability in the region, the plant is operating at only 50-60 percent of its capacity.

[Zotov] At present the plant is essentially under siege. Some 100 meters from its gates, on the approaches to Tiraspol, patrols of the Dnestr Republic Guard are mounted at night. The plant's territory is guarded by workers' detachments. Tension prevails in the Dnestr region. Despite all this, "Moldavizolit" engineers are carrying on their research work. The "Plastik-Kontakt" design bureau has developed a new class of room aerial for receiving satellite television. It appears that the cumbersome dish aerials on balconies will soon become redundant.

[Zotov turning to unidentified engineer] What is the innovation based on? Are you unwilling to disclose the technology for the time being?

[unidentified engineer] This is a commercial secret for the moment. It has been patented in many countries. We are not talking about this for the moment.

[Zotov] I have heard that many countries sell licenses only for dollars?

[Unidentified engineer] You are quite right.

[Zotov] This is what the reality of our economy looks like. The state could pocket millions with the help of a hot-spot area, the Dnestr region, provided it wants to, of course...

Mikhail Zotov reporting specially for the Television News Service. [063548]

Georgia

Supreme Council Activities, Developments Noted

LD0710221191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Oct (TASS)—The situation in the Georgian capital remains extremely tense, although the city seems to be calm, reports Eduard Ediberidze, a correspondent for the SAKINFORM news agency. The extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Council, in which all factions took part, met in the Georgian capital last Saturday and Sunday, he writes. Deputies analyzed the political situation in Tbilisi, which has sharply deteriorated after the clash that took place the night of 4 October at the government building between supporters and opponents of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, and sought ways out of the crisis that has developed. Grave errors made recently both by official authorities and the opposition were stated at the first sitting of the session, the SAKINFORM correspondent continues. Heated debates took place in the course of which representatives of opposing factions yet again raised issues of the resignation of the president, restriction of his powers, release of political prisoners, and freedom for the mass media. However, no specific decision was adopted. The Supreme Council adopted unanimously only an appeal to the republic's population that expressed the will of the entire parliament to facilitate national reconciliation and to establish peace and accord in Georgia.

The Sunday session lasted from 1800 until late at night. In particular, the law of the Republic of Georgia on the state of emergency was amended. Previously, the Georgian KGB and units of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs could be called upon, at the decision of the Supreme Council, to eliminate the consequences of the emergency circumstances and to protect law and order and guarantee citizen's safety, but the functions of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have now been transferred to the Georgian Defense Ministry. Questions connected with the need for the strict implementation of the law on the press and other mass media also were debated stormily.

The session will continue its work, to all appearances, on 8 October, the date for which its routine session was originally set.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Want Presidential Rule

LD0710142991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1351 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Oct (TASS)—A collection of signatures demanding the dissolution of the parliament of Georgia and the introduction of presidential rule in the republic began today at its Supreme Council building. The initiators of this action are a number of supporters of [President] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, including several parliamentary deputies. They base their demand on the need to strengthen executive power to stabilize the political situation in the republic.

This group has also demanded the "punishment, to set an example" of the most active opposition figures and their deprivation of Georgian citizenship. Moreover, they cite the example of the Russian leadership, which arrested the former members of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and handed them over to the courts. According to the appraisals of some specialists the fact that the collection of signatures was announced on local television, which usually reflects the opinion of the supporters of Gamsakhurdia, it is possible that presidential rule really will be introduced in Georgia in the near future and punitive measures will be instigated against opposition figures.

Issue Communique

OW0710145791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, in Tbilisi, supporters of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia began to collect signatures under the demand for introducing presidential rule in Georgia. The deputies of the Supreme Soviet opposing the president qualified this move as an attempt to undermine the dialogue which began during the session of parliament on Friday.

The communique of the Georgian president's press service suggests that the session will concentrate on one thing—ways of settling the social and political situation in Tbilisi. According to it, the deputies urged the citizens "to demonstrate their sense of responsibility and abstain from any violent actions." The press service of the Georgian president emphasized that "all the factions in the Supreme Soviet were ready to do everything they could to normalize the situation and attain national reconciliation."

The Georgian parliament will continue its session on Tuesday.

Opposition: Free All Political Prisoners

LD0710140391 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By Special Correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 7 TASS—The Mirab Kostava society has demanded that the Georgian leaders free all political prisoners. Representatives of the society, which until recently was part of the round table - Free Georgia Ruling Alliance, blocked the central railway in the area of Agara station, the Karelskzy district, on Sunday night and warned that until all members of the opposition are

freed, the boycott of the railway station will not be lifted. The latest reports say, however, that the boycott was ended.

At the extraordinary session of the Georgian parliament, which was convened in view of the acute political situation in the republic, the Mirab Kostava society leader Vazha Adamia today put forward the same demands, including the democratisation of mass media.

The parliament is meeting behind closed doors. All journalists were barred from the session. So far, it has been learnt that deputies unanimously adopted an appeal to all residents of the republic not to give in to provocations and urged the opposition to settle all conflicts through a peace dialogue.

According to information from parliamentary sources, deputies have not yet begun to discuss the opposition's demands although it is expected that they will be considered at Tuesday's session of parliament.

After the tragic dawn on Saturday, when two people died and dozens were injured in clashes between the opposition and supporters of Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the situation in Tbilisi has stabilised to some extent. Public transport went running on Rustaveli Avenue, the focal point of the events. Shops opened and the central telegraph office went into operation.

Some details of the Saturday tragedy become to be clarified [as received]. Most of the witnesses interviewed by TASS say the gunfire was provoked by pro-Gamsakhurdia OMON special Interior Ministry troops and police. It was they who used firearms against the unarmed opposition. True, the official authorities have denied this for the present.

Mirab Kostava Blocks Tbilisi Approaches

OW0710155191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday, members of Mirab Kostava's opposition society blocked the motorway and railways near the village of Agara, 150 kilometres from Tbilisi. The goal of the action was not to let Gamsakhurdia's supporters from the west of Georgia into the Georgian capital. The militants said they would not lift the blockade without their commander Vazha Adamia's order.

Atmosphere in Tbilisi Reportedly Calm

LD0710132791 Moscow Radio Rossii in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The PROFINFORM Agency reports on the situation in Tbilisi: Apart from the regions adjacent to government house, the atmosphere in the city is calm as a whole. About 1,000 people discussed the question of the comparative expediency of violent and nonviolent methods of resolving the conflict in the republic near the university building yesterday. At government house, about 2,000 supporters of Gamsakhurdia called for reprisals against the opposition. Government house is being guarded by APCs, firemen, a number of buses, and by the militia. Searches have been carried out in the buildings adjacent to government house. Opposition figures are being sought.

The Georgian parliament is continuing its work. The main issue on the agenda is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from South Ossetia.

Gamsakhurdia Orders Port Traffic Blocked

LD0710142491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The Georgian parliament has called upon the citizens of the republic to refrain from violence. President Zviad Gamsakhurdia convened an emergency session of the republican parliament after Georgian militants attacked the South Ossetian city of Tskhinvali. One person was killed and about 80 others injured in the attack.

Georgia's Defense Ministry has said that President Gamsakhurdia has ordered the blocking all highways and railroads connecting Tbilisi with Batumi and Sukhumi, port cities on the Black Sea.

Shevardnadze Discusses 'Real Civil War'

LD0810001291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2227 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct (TASS)—A real civil war is under way in Georgia, and this fire must be extinguished, says former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, himself an emigrant from that land of plenty in the Transcaucasus.

Shevardnadze told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that, to do this, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia "should conduct a competent, serious, and equal conversation with the opposition."

The former minister categorically excluded Soviet Army interference to avert bloodshed in Georgia, where, in his words, "the nation has fragmented." "This is not a wish; this is a demand and should not be permitted under any circumstance," he said. Shevardnadze thinks the Georgians themselves must deal with the situation which has taken shape.

At the same time, he did not exclude the possibility of mediation in the Georgian conflict by the Public Movement for Democratic Reforms, which was set up recently with his direct participation. "If it becomes necessary, then I am ready to go and help. However, I feel neither this nor the other side wants this very much," the former minister said.

Tension Continues 'Unabated' in South Ossetia

LD0710163591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1342 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 7 Oct (TASS)—The tension in South Ossetia continues unabated. According to reports from the press center of the autonomous oblast's Information Committee, the center of Tskhinvali has again been troubled over the past 24 hours. For several hours, fighters shelled the town's outskirts with large-caliber machine guns, grenade-launchers, and free-flight missiles from the direction of the Georgian villages of Zemo-Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Prisi, and Ergneti. As a result of the shelling, 18 homes were destroyed by direct hits, various municipal buildings were damaged, and some civilians were injured.

It is now almost 10 months since Tskhinvali has been in the tight grip of an economic blockade. Industrial enterprises and construction organizations are idle and the railway junction has come to a standstill. There are acute shortages of foodstuffs, medicines, and fuel. Only one bakery is operating in the town, but even here there are only stocks of flour to last two to three days. The Georgian side still controls all the roads leading to Tskhinvali. The fighters are preventing humanitarian aid from Vladikavkaz being delivered to the town. The large freight vehicles are only able to travel along the Dzhava-Tskhinvali highway under the escort of reinforced subunits of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Troops.

Fighters are continuing to take peaceful citizens hostage in the remote Ossetian villages of Tskhinvali and Znauri rayons. Over the last 48 hours 14 people of Ossetian nationality have been taken to an unknown destination. Armed groups are commandeering residents' vehicles and driving off their cattle.

The inhabitants of South Osetia are leaving their homes, afraid of an increase in the punitive measures of the fighters. For the most part they are heading for North Ossetia where, according to unofficial figures, there are now more than 85,000 refugees.

'Ultimatums' at Odds With Democracy

PM0410105091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Albert Plutnik "Political Diary" article: "He Who Seeks Consensus Does Not Issue Ultimatums"]

[Text] The ultimatum issued by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia to all those who took part in antigovernment actions in August-September this year expired at 1200 on 3 October. What is the president demanding? That all these people immediately lay down their arms—surrender their automatic weapons, pistols, ammunition, and combat equipment. If they surrender them, they will be exempt from criminal liability.

And if they do not surrender them—what then?

As soon as you ask this question, it exposes the full tragic absurdity of the situation in which the authorities place themselves when they try to talk to the opposition in the language of ultimatums: Either-or. And nothing in between. If you remember, this was the course adopted at one time by the more powerful central authorities, as they still were at that time, regarding the armed formations that had sprung up in various regions of the country. But apparently this awe-inspiring demand did not yield real results. At least, to this day many of these formations still exist, and this in itself only makes it more difficult to resolve many problems, although entirely different factors were involved when they originally sprang up.

This is apparent in Georgia. Naturally, the president must think first and foremost about the underlying problems causing the armed confrontation. I would list among these, in particular, the patently undemocratic nature of the present regime and its inability or unwillingness to build civilized relations with the opposition, which, when political life is properly organized, is not only useful, but necessary to the development of the democratic process. In essence, by depriving the opposition of its legitimate place in the political struggle, the anticommunist Gamsakhurdia is going the way of the now powerless Communist Party, which never wanted to see any opposing political force confronting it.

The worst of the fears expressed back in the days when Georgian society was euphoric about the nationwide presidential elections and the proclamation of Georgia's independence, is coming true. It is now becoming clear that even general elections do not always bring a truly democratic leader to power. It transpires that even a leader who was not imposed by the center and who certainly cannot be accused of being a Kremlin puppet is not always capable of consolidating the nation. It is becoming clear that totalitarianism, having been overthrown in general elections, is capable nonetheless of reemerging even in conditions that appear to differ fundamentally from those of the former, overturned empire. The same reluctance to waive principles, the same desire come what may to go all the way in establishing the "most humane ideals of the era," the same willingness to stop at nothing to "crush the resilient hydra of counterrevolution." And behind all this, as in the former imperial conditions, are the same primitive ambitions, the same elementary group, caste, and personal interests, which were then passed off as class interests, and now as national interests.

Alas, the proclamation of independence is not yet the victory of democracy. How far we are even today—all of us, in all our republics, both those that have already become independent states and those that have not yet become so—how far we all are from true freedom and independence, bound together as we are by many years of existence under a shared totalitarian sky, so we

basically became like Siamese twins with a single circulatory system—and doubtless even they have the right to decide in their own minds that they are, in the last analysis, independent of each other. How far we all are from this, we children of Russia's difficult years, heirs of that whole range of eras—Stalinism, voluntarism, stagnation, and hard times.

Evidently the republics will for a long time to come be writhing in the toils of hereditary defects, replacing all-union dictators with their own homegrown ones, heartily cursing the legacy of the collapsed system that is inherent in ourselves, calling down imprecations on the all but incurable ideological perversion. But is what we are observing in Georgia today any more humane? All these crossovers from the political struggle to the armed struggle, these acts of political terrorism—explosions, shootings... Georgians against Georgians... And so the conflict should not appear so brazenly immoral, it is reported that armed mercenaries of other nationalities are now being brought in, outsiders, so to speak—people from other regions and even other countries, as it were the foreign legion that we thought had finally forgotten the way to our country. And they call this the struggle for freedom and independence?

President Gamsakhurdia recently stated that he will vanquish the opposition and the Kremlin putschists by moral force. A statement that prompts optimism. As if what happened in Tbilisi 22 September would not be repeated. But it is being repeated. An explosion in front of the Georgian Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio Broadcasting] Department, near the opposition headquarters, followed by automatic fire.

Peculiarities of the transitional period? The formation of a democratic state so strikingly resembles the onset of dictatorship... Frankly, it is embarrassing to have to remind an educated man like President Gamsakhurdia that arguments backed up by arms do not testify in favor of democracy. That in the quest for peace and consensus you can hardly resort to the language of ultimatums. This has never been known to shorten the road to accord.

The Georgian authorities, by resorting to this tried and tested method, irrespective of their subjective wishes—willy-nilly, so to speak—are trying to turn back the clock, disregarding very rich experience, both historical—before our own day—and modern—the experience of our own day. Where did it actually come from, that glimmer of hope, as yet barely visible, in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict that has finally exhausted two independent republic-states? It flickered into being thanks to the diplomatic initiatives of well-known politicians. Thanks to the fact that the two sides, which have a truly vital interest in resolving the conflict, apparently recognized the total futility of attempts to use armed force to establish once and for all that they are in the right. The hope that has sprung up for a solution to the Moldova crisis is also the consequence of the talks process that has begun. Finally, Alma-Ata, where republics that value so highly their political independence have just come to a united opinion, at long last, concerning their own life support system, economic collaboration.

And throughout the world there is no known example of freedom and independence being established or anyone being made more free and happy by force. Events in South Africa, the Near East, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and many other corners of the world which have been marked by long and implacable hostility demonstrate the immutability of the worldwide law—a way out of even the most hopeless situations can be found only through talks.

The explosions shaking the land of Georgia are our common grief. There is no denying that Georgia, the lovely, gentle, good land of Georgia, was and is the darling of us all. Today we are all trying to live in a new way, and have a keen sense of the absence of familiarity with such a life—not yet freedom, but considerably less constraint than before; not yet independence, but no longer such oppression and universal regimentation. And when, somewhere in a land that is so dear to us, people are being forced to live and think in one way and not another, this makes us anxious for the fate of freedom itself, for the fate of a compromised democracy.

Adzharia Creates Headquarters for Defense

AU0710141391 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Provisional Headquarters for Defense Has Been Created in Adzharia", followed by "Appeal by the Adzharian Autonomous Republic Provisional Headquarters for Defense to the Population of the Autonomous Republic" issued in Batumi; date not given]

[Text] In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Adzharian Autonomous Republic, the provisional headquarters for defense of the Adzharian Autonomous Republic has been created. The prefects of the town of Batumi and of rayons of the autonomous republic, under the leadership of Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Adzharian Autonomous Republic, were authorized to create town and rayon provisional committees for defense under their command and to take the necessary measures for uniting the entire population and all the healthy forces in order to maintain a stable situation in the region and to ensure further strengthening of law and order.

Dear fellow countrymen,

We appeal to you now, in a political situation that is extremely difficult for the Republic of Georgia, a situation in which the results of the great victory attained by the national-liberation movement are under real threat. Realizing the responsibility of each of us before the nation, our descendants, and the common Georgian interests, we consider it our most important task to bar the way to the action of those forces that are striving to

exacerbate the political situation in the republic, to cause confrontation between individual strata of the population, and to introduce disorder into our social life.

There exists reliable evidence that forces hostile to our region have recently resumed their activity. Back on 22 and 23 April, unknown to the Adzharian authorities and on the false pretext of abolishing autonomy, these forces provoked rightful indignation on the part of the entire population of the autonomous republic. As a result of this, there were mass gatherings of the population in the town of Batumi, and a tense situation was created. The leaders of these forces in our republic are mainly the type of people who press for high positions and who abandon themselves to careerist ambitions. Even now, they are trying to satisfy their personal interests by taking advantage of the difficult situation that has taken shape in the whole of Georgia. They are trying to create seats of tension in the autonomous republic, to destabilize the situation, to endanger Adzharian autonomy and the population, and to do everything to interfere with the process of accelerated socioeconomic development of the region and with the improvement, within a short period of time, of the standard of living of the Adzharian population.

In this situation, we must exercise wisdom, utmost caution, and common sense, and unite to prevent destructive forces from interfering with our further progress and the attainment of the full sovereignty of Georgia—the most sacred cause in the name of which many noble patriots of our region lost their lives.

We remind everybody, both friends and enemies, that Adzharia is the region in which the population has not only heroically defended itself over centuries, but has also defended the whole of Georgia and has constituted a kind of shield for it. Adzharia has heroically resisted the countless conquerors, has been the first to take upon itself the blows of the invaders, has been a support for our fatherland, and has held high the banner of Georgian unity. The unshakeable spirit and the genetic code of our heroic ancestors are still alive in us. If the interests of our motherland demand this, the whole of Adzharia will rise again and be the vanguard of its defenders.

We warn the ringleaders of unconstitutional forces and call upon their chance accomplices to act in a reasonable manner, to adequately comprehend the complex nature of the historical moment and its significance, and to give up their ambitious intentions, because from now on they and their accomplices will be fully accountable before the law for the exacerbation of the political crisis, violation of civic peace, and the related unforeseen consequences. Everybody must realize the fact that the people are tired of the countless rallies and that they impatiently await radical economic reforms, tranquillity, and normal life. Our population will not tolerate an attempt by any force to exacerbate the situation, to achieve separation and confrontation within our society, or to interfere with the rebirth of our region and with the attainment of its noble goals and will immediately nip such an attempt in the bud.

We call upon everybody for whom the fate and the future of our motherland are precious to join the president of the Republic of Georgia elected by the people and the parliament in order to attain the great goals that are being cherished by the Georgian nation.

We call upon you to forget your personal [grievances] and act jointly in the name of a single sacred goal—Georgia is above everything else!

Batumi.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Debates Union Participation

NC0810143791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by unidentified Yerevan radio correspondent from the session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet held on 7 October in Yerevan—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] In opening today's session, Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, asked that the agenda for the next three days be adopted. [passage omitted]

As we know, after the proclamation of independence following the Armenian Republic referendum, relevant appeals were sent to the governments of almost every country in the world and a number of international organizations. Armenia also recognized the need to start negotiations with Soviet organs of power. The parliament began its deliberations by examining this issue, which was at the top of the agenda.

Davit Vardanyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations, presented a bill on this issue. The bill calls for creating a special commission to formulate—by making use of the experience of the Baltic republics—a package of concepts for negotiations with Union organs to secure Armenia's secession from the USSR. The bill was passed after some additions were made to it following a debate.

The deputies then debated the issue of Armenia's participation in interrepublican structures. This issue was moved over to today's agenda from previous sessions. [passage omitted] Finally, the deputies' particular proposals regarding participation in the USSR Supreme Soviet boiled down to three possibilities: that Armenia should participate in the deliberations of these bodies as a plenipotentiary with [words indistinct] rights, that it should participate as an observer, or that it should not participate at all. None of these proposals received enough votes and the parliament postponed a final decision.

At the conclusion of the session, Acting Interior Minister Ashot Manucharyan acceded to the requests of the deputies and briefed the session about the latest developments in Nagorno-Karabakh and the situation on Armenia's borders.

[Begin Manucharyan recording] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon remains complex. Fire is exchanged almost daily. There are dead and injured on both sides. According to my information, the situation has not changed since the Zheleznovodsk agreement. Some claim that there has been a change, but in fact, there is no change; the same situation persists. As of yesterday, 16 Armenians and 20 Azerbaijanis have been killed in Nagorno- Karabakh since the Zheleznovodsk agreement. Some of the Azerbaijanis killed [word indistinct] are members of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] or are militiamen. The rest are peaceful residents [words indistinct]. There is no apparent move toward stabilization and respite here. I think that once the observers arrive—if they ever come—it may be possible to calm the situation down somewhat.

A Soviet Army serviceman was injured during the shelling of [name indistinct]. USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops arrived soon after the shelling began and tried to defend the Armenian village. The Azerbaijanis continued to fire and the serviceman tried to break through the barrage, thus sustaining injuries. The Armenians launched a counteroffensive on the Azerbaijani [name indistinct] village from which the Azerbaijani attack originated (?eight) days ago. According to unconfirmed reports, there are victims among the Azerbaijanis [words indistinct].

Relations between the Azerbaijani OMON and the military are gradually deteriorating, particularly in Martunskiy and Gadrutskiy Rayons. [passage indistinct].

The situation on Armenia's border is also complex. The situation has particularly (?deteriorated) in connection with the hostage situation. [passage indistinct] The situation is also tense around Voskepar village. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 2050 GMT on 7 October reports the following: "Four Soviet Army servicemen stationed in Azerbaijan have been detained in Kornidzor village in Gorisskiy Rayon. Armed with automatic weapons the 10-man detachment stationed in the [name indistinct] village in Lachinskiy Rayon entered Armenia and tried to take hostage farmer Karapetyan and his grandson Gagik. The latter escaped to the village while the servicemen fired after him. The militiamen arrived on the scene and detained a sergeant and three privates. The rest escaped."]

Ter-Petrosyan Calls For Independence Recognition

LD0710210891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1950 GMT 7 Oct 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Oct (TASS)—Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan has sent a message to the USSR State Council and the leaders of the sovereign republics in which he proposes that conciliation commissions be set up to settle the mutual relations between Armenia and the Soviet Union as well as individual republics in political, economic, and military spheres.

The message provides information about the results of the recent referendum on Armenia withdrawing from the USSR and proclaiming Armenia an independent state, as well as on Armenia becoming a party to UN and CSCE documents. "Armenia has already submitted a proposal to the USSR State Council and the heads of the republics that they recognize Armenian independence and facilitate the recognition of its status as a matter of international law," Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated.

Azerbaijan

Military Commission Orders Weapons Pullout

LD0710192791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Commanders of military units stationed in Azerbaijan received an order to withdraw, urgently, military equipment and weapons from the territory of the Republic, a source who wished to remain unidentified reported to the (TURAN) agency. The order comes from the Commission of the Transcaucasian Military District, which has arrived to carry out an inspection of weapons. Railway workers reported that in the last few days a withdrawal of tanks and other military equipment from the Republic is being observed. The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Commission for Security and Military Issues suggested that an extraordinary session of the parliament should urgently declare all weapons and military equipment deployed here the property of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Tension Increases; Observers 'Delayed'

NC0710195991 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The combat around Karachinar village in Shaumyanovskiy has gotten fierce. On the evening of 3 October, the Azerbaijanis launched yet another operation to occupy that village, using tanks, armored cars, and other military hardware. The people of Karachinar resisted heroically for three-hours and forced the attackers to retreat. This time—as usual—it was not possible to avoid some losses. Four peaceful residents, one of them a woman, were martyred in the unequal combat, and several were wounded. The opposite side's losses are still unknown.

Ominous movements of military hardware have also been sighted in Askeranskiy and Shushinskiy Rayons.

The water intake at Khaybaly, which provides drinking water to Stepanakert, was blown up three times in the last week. The repair work will be meaningless unless the military commander strengthens the defense of the water pipeline, which is vital for Nagorno-Karabakh's capital.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijani television continues to foment anti-Armenian hysteria and is calling on the people to take up arms. The journalists are resorting to cheap tricks to play with the emotions of the already misinformed Azerbaijani population. It appears that the Azerbaijani leadership and the People's Front have gradually found a common language with which to discuss the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Plans to exacerbate the tension thus are being implemented.

The Russian and Kazakh observers's arrival in Stepanakert has also been delayed for unknown reasons.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Democratization Accord Detailed

LD0710211791 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0120 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Tajikistan on Numerous Measures To Democratize Public Life in the Republic of Tajikistan" signed by Akbarsho Iskandarov, acting chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, in Dushanbe on 6 October—read by announcer]

[Text] To broaden the democratic processes in the Republic of Tajikistan's sociopolitical life and to provide equal conditions for holding the preelection campaign for electing the president of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Tajikistan decrees:

1. To submit for examination at the scheduled session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan a proposal to revoke legal acts prohibiting parties of a religious nature, as dictated by legal norms;

2. To highlight the announcement by Comrade Karimov Dzhamshed, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Tajikistan, on the progress the Republic of Tajikistan's cabinet of ministers is making on implementing the 2 October decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan on suspending the activity of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and its legal successor and its property;

The Republic of Tajikistan's cabinet of ministers to include in their commission for implementing the abovementioned decision representatives of all republican political forces with equal participation;

On 13 October, to seal all the working offices and buildings of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the Central Committee, oblast committees, rayon committees, city committees, and so forth;

3. In line with statements by candidates for the post of Republic of Tajikistan president aimed at providing for timely harvest of the crops and for the preelection campaigns, to request the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan to move the date for presidential elections in the Republic of Tajikistan to 24 November—backdating the time of the elections for Republic of Tajikistan president does not affect the established time for registering candidates for the post of Republic of Tajikistan president;

4. Simultaneously with the election of the Republic of Tajikistan president, to hold a nationwide referendum on confidence in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan at the 12th convocation;

The questions of organizing and holding the referendum be placed on the republican voting commission for electing the Republic of Tajikistan people's deputies;

To recommend to the local soviet of peoples deputies to include representatives of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Rastokhez popular movement, and the all-union Islamic Revival Party within the composition of the okrug and district voting commissions;

5. To obligate the Republic of Tajikistan's State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasts and the means of mass media to provide equal conditions for all the candidates standing for the post of Republic of Tajikistan president to participate;

For this, to provide special television and radio programs;

To register all journalists and form from a number of outstanding journalists representing the interests of all the political parties and movements in the Republic a commission led by Comrade Ashurov Davronov, chairman of the committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan for culture, international affairs, and interethenic relations;

6. The Republic of Tajikistan cabinet of ministers, until the end of the current year, to examine and tackle the question of forming an independent television and radio company;

Until the formation of the independent television and radio company, to give all the political parties and mass movements equal broadcast time;

7. The leaders of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and advanced and middle specialized education institutions to provide unconditional equality for the citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan, independent of their political belief;

The leaders of the law and order bodies to intersect decisively each piece of evidence of the violation of legality and of the political persecution of citizens and bring the guilty to trial as outlined by the law;

8. To recommend that the committee for constitutional supervision of the Republic of Tajikistan study within one month the question of the legality of convening the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan on 23 September and of the decisions adopted at it;

To consult the USSR committee for constitutional supervision on this question;

9. Regarding the organizers and participants of the meetings on Dushanbe's Ozodi Square 21 September-7 October, not to take measures—criminal, administrative, and disciplinary prosecution, including eviction from work;

The leaders of the advanced and middle specialized education institutions not to allow the eviction of students and pupils due the same motives;

10. To highlight the announcement of Comrade Khuvaydullayev, procurator of the Republic of Tajikistan, that no criminal proceedings be carried out against anyone and that they will not be carried out against Comrade Ikramov, chairman of the executive committee of the Dushanbe city soviet of peoples deputies, regarding the removal of Lenin's statue on Ozodi Square;

11. To propose to all the political parties and peoples movements to avoid activities which could destabilize the sociopolitical situation and lead to the violation of law and order in the Republic during the election campaign;

To prevent any kind of politically motivated meetings and demonstrations, except for the preelection meetings, during the election campaign for Republic of Tajikistan president;

To appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the country's sovereign Republics to send observers to the Republic of Tajikistan for the election campaign and the election of the president;

12. The current decision comes to force from the moment of its signing. The current decision has been adopted as a result of talks with the participation of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan; the Rastokhez popular movement; the lawyers [koziyat] of the Republic; the Islamic Revival Party; and Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak and Velikhiv Yevgeniy Pavlovich, representatives of the USSR president and Supreme Consultative Council members.

[Signed] Akbarsho Iskandarov, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan

[Dated] 6 October 1991

Presidential Election Postponement Likely

PM0810093591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Karpov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ten Presidential Candidates"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Talks have resumed between the Tajik leadership and leaders of opposition forces at the Tajik Supreme Soviet.

The extraordinary parliamentary session that ended last week did not fully satisfy the opposition's demands. The questions of legalizing the activity of the Islamic Revival Party and the resignation of the recently elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet and acting Tajik president, R. Nabiyev, were left open. A large rally has been going on for two weeks now in front of the Supreme Soviet building, and roughly 200 of the participants are on political hunger strike.

A. Sobchak and Ye. Velikhov, members of the Political Consultative Council under the country's president, who have arrived in Dushanbe, are taking part in talks behind closed doors.

One of the results of the talks will probably be the postponement of the republic's presidential elections. The initial date—27 October—does not allow the contenders nominated for the supreme state post to hold an election campaign. The republic electoral commission has registered 10 presidential candidates.

Sobchak Addresses Opposition Meeting

LD0810004491 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Uzbek 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Meetings organized by the opposition democratic forces—the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Popular Movement Rastokhez, and the illegal Islamic Party of Rebirth—have lasted for 15 days. During this period more than 150 people joined the political hunger strike. Some of them declared a no liquid hunger strike. Some people's health has deteriorated.

Among the hunger strikers are also representatives from some enterprises. Today there were, as usual, many people at the meetings on Ozodi square. For a long time new groups of people joined them. Today Anatoliy Sobchak and Yevgeniy Velikhov, members of the USSR Supreme Consultative Council; USSR People's Deputy Davlat Khudonazarov; Kadruddin Aslonov; Maksud Ikramov; Akbar Turadzhonzoda, procurator of the republic; Takhir Abduldzhabbarov, leader of the Popular Movement Rastokhez; Shodmon Yusupov, leader of the Democratic Party of the republic; and others spoke about the talks held at the Tajik Supreme Soviet Presidium. They said, basically, that the talks met most of the demands of the meetings' participants. The speaker also talked about the very difficult situation that has arisen in the republic and called on the democratic forces to unite.

During the second half of the day, the meetings' participants stopped the meetings and decided to (?break-up).

Rise of Islam in Central Asian Republics Noted

PM0710191891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Vyzhutovich report: "Central Asia: Red Banner of Communism or Green Banner of Islam?"]

[Text] It is hard to understand what is happening in Central Asia today, and even harder to predict it. Unlike the Baltic republics, where the vector of political development has established itself definitively and irreversibly, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia remain a riddle to political scientists. A riddle that, far from being solved, is becoming increasingly difficult. I think A. Sobchak and Ye. Velikhov, who received instructions from the USSR president to go to Tajikistan to obtain

full and objective information and to assist in normalizing the situation, will soon realize this.

Following exhausting debates and under pressure from the rally crowds, the Tajik parliament adopted a decision to suspend the activity of the Communist Party and its successor, the Socialist Party. Apparently the days of one party's monopoly of power are over. But which party? I have already written, in connection with the political situation in Uzbekistan, that a "multiparty system" based on clans has long existed in the Central Asian republics. There are the people of Pamir, Pendzhikent, Kulyab, Kurgan-Tyube... Their struggle for power in Tajikistan is essentially a struggle between "parties."

The united opposition, which is opposed to head of parliament R. Nabiyev, is wittingly or unwittingly gunning for the Leninabad clans, but not only them. The prime target is the communist regime; certain people want it to be overthrown... I find it difficult to say specifically who. That is to say, of course the democrats' involvement cannot be ignored. But the democratic movement in Tajikistan, as indeed in the whole of Central Asia, is not so influential that it could determine the outcome of a power struggle. It appeals mainly to the intelligentsia, and moreover, to the most educated section of the intelligentsia. Meanwhile, real politics takes place in the auls and kishlaks [villages], where Islamic fundamentalists are influential.

Is an Islamic revolution imminent in the Central Asian republics? Today this question terrifies some people, but others, on the contrary, are reassured by a presentiment of what they have long awaited. The opposition in Uzbekistan has already demanded that President Karimov swear on the Koran. In Tajikistan the inhabitants of a number of areas have presented Great Qadi Hajji Akbar Turadzhonzoda, head of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims, for the post of republic president.

This is unprecedented. The Muslim clergy may come to power for the first time in the Soviet period. Admittedly, Turadzhonzoda's answer to the question "Will Tajikistan become an Islamic republic?" was: "Even if all the mullahs want this, at the moment it is not possible. The republic has gone a long way down the secular path and people will not renounce their habits and way of life so easily... I support a secular parliamentary state with a free economy. Religion should be separated from the state so the sins of society cannot be attributed to Islam, which is what happened to the Communist Party."

Turadzhonzoda stated again that he is not laying claim to the presidential post. And nevertheless Islamophobia is being whipped up. Official propaganda is trying to impress upon people, and particularly the Russian-speaking population, that Communists are better than mullahs. But whatever is said about the Islamic threat, it will scarcely prove possible to remove the Muslim clergy from the political arena. Fundamentalism is the eternal companion of any society that goes through a crisis. Harking back to the past and blind suspicion of any new ways of development are the symbols of a watershed age. In this sense, as A. Malashenko, an employee at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, observed in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, Islamic fundamentalism is the brother of Russian fundamentalism. S. Kuyayev and V. Belov also see the reanimation of the community and the restoration of patriarchal ideals and values as the only means of salvation. "Muslim fatalism" is in some way related to the "mysterious Russian soul." The same submissiveness to fate and a sacred belief in predestination that cannot be overcome.

Islam's entry into active politics is its delayed reaction to its long existence in the face of prohibition. Reduced to performing social rites, until recently it did not throw down the gauntlet to the authorities. Now, however, it is becoming a political force—a fact to which the communist leadership of Tajikistan is unable and unwilling to reconcile itself. It is being said that Islamic participation in politics threatens to bring about innumerable misfortunes. People are saying that the Islamic revolution in Iran also took place under democratic slogans, and ended up in carnage. They are saying that today the clergy is operating in union with the democrats, but as soon as the present regime, good or bad, is overthrown by the forces of this opposition, the green banner of Islam may be hoisted on the pinnacle of the new power. This will have a dangerous effect not only in Tajikistan, where the seeds of European democracy will not grow anyway, but also in Russia where waves of refugees will flow in the event of a holy war against people of different faiths.

Well, there are some grounds for such warnings. We will bear in mind, however, the fact that it is the spontaneous protest against hateful communist procedures rather than religious fanaticism that is expressing itself with the Koran in hand. This is not a religious struggle, but a political one. No one can as yet say whether it will end in a victory for democracy or for the establishment of a new—Islamic—dictatorship. One thing is quite clear: The mosque is taller than the obkom [oblast party committee]. But it is also taller than the democratic structure which is not yet fully established. And we do not yet know which is preferable.